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ABSTRACT

The theme for this conference was "Our Town and Country Society Looks at Itself." The following papers were presented at this conference: (1) "The Miracle of Production--Can We Keep It" (Aubrey D. Gates); (2) "Recent U.S. Population Trends and Their Causes" (Calvin L. Beale and Donald J. Bogue); (3) "Commercial Farming and Related Institutions" (J. B. Claar); (4) "The Rural Nonfarm Population" (Mervin G. Smith and John B. Mitchell); (5) "Small Town, U.S.A." (Selz C. Mayo); (6) "The Rural-Urban Fringe" (Glenn B. Fuguitt); (7)"Marketing" (Harry C. Trelogan); (8) "Cooperative Extension" (A. F. Wileden); (9) "Farm Organizations" (Jack Jackson); and (10) "The Relevancy of Our Values and Religious Beliefs to Our Action Programs" (E. W. Mueller). Also included are the minutes of the Annual Business Meeting, the constitution and by-laws of the association, and the 1962 membership list. (ALL)

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Our Town and Country Society Looks at Itself

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Proceedings of the Forty-First Conference

of the

American Country Life Association, Inc.

National 4-H Club Center

Washington, D.C.

July 10-11, 1962

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Our Town and Country Society Looks at Itself

Proceedings of the Forty-First Conference

of the

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PROGRAM

CONFERENCE THEME:

"Our Town and Country Society Looks at Itself"

TUESDAY, JULY 10

Morning Session — THINGS WE NEED TO KNOW

Presiding: REV. ROBERT T. FRERICHS, Dean, Rural Church Center, American Baptist Convention, Green Lake, Wis.

Invocation

"The Miracle of Production — Can We Keep It?" — MR. AUBREY D. GATES, President, ACLA; Director, Division of Field Service, American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill. (See Page 5)

The Macro Picture: "Recent U.S. Population Trends and Their Causes" — MR. CALVIN BEALE, Supervisory Statistician, Farm Population Branch, Economic Research Service, USDA, Washington, D.C. (See Page 11)

Afternoon Session — THE SPECIFIC PICTURE

Presiding, MR. AUBREY GATES, American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill.

"Commercial Farming and Related Institutions" — DR. JOHN B. CLAAR, Associate Director of Extension, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (See Page 55)

"The Rural Nonfarm Population" — DRS. MERVIN G. SMITH & JOHN B. MITCHELL, Dept. of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. (See Page 66)

"Small Town, U.S.A." — DR. SELZ C. MAYO, Professor & Head, Rural Sociology Dept., North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N.C. (See Page 74)

"The Rural-Urban Fringe" — DR. GLENN V. FUGUITT, Asst. Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (See Page 88)

Evening Session — BANQUET

Toastmaster, MR. AUBREY D. GATES, President, ACLA

"A Century of Development in Agriculture" — MR. BROOKS HAYS, Assistant to the President of the United States, Washington, D.C.

"Recognition for Service to Rural Life" — to Mr. Brooks Hays. (See Page 112)

WEDNESDAY, JULY 11

Morning and Afternoon Session — WHAT DOES THIS MEAN

Presiding: MISS LOIS M. CLARK, Assistant Director, Rural Education, National Education Association, Washington, D.C.

Panel: "Things We Need to Know"

What Should Action Groups Do In: Moderator — DR. L. H. DAVIS, Field Representative, Federal Extension Service, USDA, Washington, D.C.

"Marketing" — DR. HARRY TRELOGAN, Administrator, Statistical Reporting Service, USDA, Washington, D.C. (See Page 99)

"Education" — DR HAROLD WEBB, Executive Director, National School Board Association, Evanston, Ill.

"Cooperative Extension Service" — DR. A. F. WILEDEN, Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (See Page 101)

"Farm Organizations" — MR. JACK JACKSON, Director, Public Relations, The National Grange, Washington, D.C. (See Page 105)

"The Relevancy of Our Values and Religious Beliefs to Our Action Programs" — DR. E. W. MUELLER, Secretary, Church in Town and Country, National Lutheran Council, Chicago, Ill. (See Page 108)

THE MIRACLE OF PRODUCTION CAN WE KEEP IT

AUBREY D. Gates, President, ACLA
Director, Division of Field Service, American Medical Association

WHEN THE PROGRAM Committee first began to meet to discuss the program for this annual meeting, I became aware of the fact that I was extremely disadvantaged in preparing the address that is expected of one holding the position which it has been my honor to have for the past year. My present position is still close enough to the current of events in this fast-moving industry known as Agriculture, to whet my appetite and to sharpen my interest. And yet, I'm just far enough removed that I cannot dip often enough into the stream to keep my information and perspective properly irrigated for growth.

In spite of the fact that I'm privileged to see friends like Paul Johnson, Joe Ackerman, and the people in the American Farm Bureau in Chicago and Washington frequently, and to visit occasionally with my friends in the National Grange, as well as my former associates in the land-grant college system around the country, I become more bewildered by the sweep of agricultural affairs as they develop day by day, week by week, and year by year. Neither in the field of the controversial issues of legislation nor in the fields of production and marketing, is one, even one step removed from active participation able to cope with the situation.

I, therefore, propose no profound observations today, but simply react as one of the many millions who is not constantly at grips with the direct problems of agriculture and rural life.

I'm a commuter from my home in Wheaton, Illinois, to my office just north of the Loop in Chicago — a distance of some 27 miles. The north lot line of my property is a cornfield. I spend what time I can on weekends puttering in a vegetable garden, which the farmer who owns the cornfield has the kindness to let me till; and driving about the rural countryside, just watching a few of the things that are happennig.

I am one of the some eighty-five thousand persons who go through the Northwestern Railroad station twice each day. There are other countless thousands who commute on other rail lines and by car into Chicago.

I never cease to marvel at the miracle of production that permits us, and the other four million people who live within the city of Chicago, to have our toast and bacon and eggs for breakfast and a super-abundance of every conceivable kind of food readily at our fingertips. It can be picked up quickly and relatively cheaply in the supermarkets scattered about our great metropolitan area.

If there are problems involved in producing and distributing, we city dwellers are scarcely aware of them. There are millions like us in the nation's metropolitan centers and small cities who have no greater knowledge of what is going on than what we read in the newspapers — and that's pretty fuzzy. The great food advertisements regularly feature special meats for the outdoor cook — an indication of abundance never dreamed of a score of years ago.

My thoughts often go out to the other great cities of America. Train loads, endless truck caravans — yes, even boats and planes — move ceaselessly into these metropolitan areas to permit us to eat. Stop this flow, and in a very few days hunger, accompanied by panic, will strike.

Yet, back of all this are America's farms and farmers. Here lies the real phenomenon. Although I do not minimize the role of distribution, production is basic to all else. If it were not for this phenomenon of production, more than half of us here today would be basic food producers. It was not until the farmers became efficient enough to feed the rest of us that the rest of us could go into the professions, the trades, and the service industries. It is, therefore, **not** a miracle. It is because of the system under which the phenomenon developed and because of the **people** who developed it. Let America never forget this fact!

Naturally, in these sweeping developments there were and are displacements; there were and are adjustments. There have been and will continue to be many changes. Most of these have been good, and America and Americans have adapted to them remarkably well.

What we must examine carefully is what part past and current artificial influences play in making the adjustments. Centrally controlled programs can easily stop or limit change, or even reverse the direction in which we've been traveling so successfully. We must, therefore, beware of choking influences on the flow of basic production so as to avoid reversing our whole system.

In view of the complicated situations in agriculture and rural life, I have wondered in the past, and even today wonder, what the real role of the American Country Life Association is. I think it can be a very important one. Perhaps serving as a forum — bringing together the various interests represented in this Association, simply to talk about these matters — may lead all of us into a more effective relationship in the development of America's complicated system of living.

I am inclined to share Paul Johnson's view when he says that probably the best thing we can do is to teach the participating clergy a little economics and sociology, and the sociologists and economists a little religion. Perhaps both of your disciplines can teach the rest of us some of both. If we can fulfill that role, then our mission will be a worthwhile one. When we fail to fulfill that role, we should consider disbanding the organization.

In order to fulfill it then, each one of us must lean a little heavier on the oars than some of us have been inclined to do in the past.

In November, 1946, when I was Director of the Agriculture Extension Service for the University of Arkansas, I had a telephone call late one night from a young lady reporter on the Arkansas Gazette who said: "We have just received an Associated Press story from the Department of Agriculture in Washington which says that the mechanical cotton picker is now a reality and will be in general use in the near future. What are your comments?"

My comment was: "Thank God."

The excitement in this young lady's voice became intense and she quickly inquired: "You can't really mean that. What on earth is to become of the people that the mechanical cotton picker will displace?"

My reply to that has been a standard reply for a long time. "The changeover to mechanical cotton harvesting will come about very slowly. Whatever becomes of the people will be better than what they're doing now."

OUR TOWN AND COUNTRY SOCIETY LOOKS AT ITSELF

I don't know how many of you have ever picked cotton. I have; and there's no more demeaning, miserable job in the world than picking cotton, lest it be that of chopping and hoeing cotton. I don't deny that cotton was King one day in the South; but King Cotton had millions of slaves and, with the possible exception of a few, everybody was a slave in some way. If men can master him with machines — all to the good!

The most difficult, most bone-breaking work in the world is that of producing cotton under purely manual conditions. The mechanical cotton picker has not put an end to the hand-picking of cotton, but it has furnished one additional step along man's struggle to produce fibre for men's clothing needs, without the back-breaking work of human beings. Through industrial development, through changed farming systems and in the service trades, human cotton pickers have found more lucrative employment.

I reminded the young lady also that in some areas of the country, and I cited New York State as an example, the system of agriculture had changed four times since the country was settled. The changes were always gradual, and each time the situation of people who lived on the land and in the cities had improved. Since the first man picked up his club to get his game by some method other than his bare hands, mechanization has usually been either questioned or resisted by those who didn't understand what mechanization means.

Today we still have problems of adjustment to mechanization. But mechanization will continue to be a part of the miracle of production and no doubt, if left free to function, will provide for farmers and consumers alike more bountiful supplies and higher standards of living.

There's no need to cite the advances in the use of chemistry, pesticides, insecticides, growth-stimulants, yes, probably in the use of atomic energy and all the other vast changes that have taken place and will continue to take place. There's no need to go into the statistics which will be used here in the next little while by others, about what this has meant in the shift of population. It simply means that there are changes. We must accept them. They are going to sweep forward. They cannot and must not be stopped.

But in these changes we must recognize that what brings us into a different social and economic relationship must not wipe out the basic reasons why we have achieved this phenomenon — incentive and reward.

There are now some 25 consumers of food to each producer. They are physically intermingled in ways never seen before in this country. There are complex problems of production, adjustment, taxation, representation, and many others. America must make sure that merely because consumers outnumber producers, the problems are not settled by a majority/minority vote.

Byron Fredrick, Editor of the Ohio State Grange monthly, recently quoted a paragraph from a history of Greece. It says: "A democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of government. It exists only until the voters discover they can vote themselves a gift out of the public treasury. From that moment on, the majority vote for the candidate promising the most benefits from the public's treasury."

I am thankful that our government is a representative Republic, where the majority can govern but in which the minorities are protected.

OUR TOWN AND COUNTRY SOCIETY LOOKS AT ITSELF

As a suburban consumer, I selfishly would like to have inexpensive food, a high income, and low taxes. If this is imposed on the farms which surround me, however, then soon I shall have to devote more of my time to my vegetable garden and less to my profession. Under these circumstances, the next generation could easily slip into a peasant agriculture and all Americans would be the losers.

This applies whether we impose it in my local community by a zoning ordinance, in the state legislature by a property tax, or in the national Congress by rigid production controls.

In one midwestern state there is an incorporated town of about 3,500 on what was a 160-acre farm three years ago. There was talk of trying to pass a zoning ordinance in the township to prevent the production of hogs within two miles of towns of one thousand or more population, because the residents of the new centers objected to the odor from pig lots. The ordinance didn't pass, but it illustrates the kind of problem that can develop.

At one time the villages and cities of America were interspersed between the farms of America. They merely dotted the many and represented a small proportion of the people of the nation. Today, this is not so.

The farms of America are now interspersed between the villages, suburban areas, and nonfarm rural dwellers, who earn their income in nonfarm employment. They merely reside in the open country. Farms have become islands in many areas.

In 1960, farm people with a total income of 20.7 billion earned 6.9 billion of it in off-farm work. Many of these families have one or more members who belong to labor unions, who participate in company-wide health insurance programs or other industrial-related interests. This cannot be said to be all to the good or all to the bad.

It has to be recognized as a fact that will modify farming, farm policy, and rural life. When approximately 55% of the farms under the new census definition are producing approximately 95% of all products sold into market channels, we can conclude that these families were devoting pretty near full time to farming. However, it is interesting to note that receipts from off-farm employment among these producers are sizeable. Extreme caution is urged, therefore, on what our farm policy shall be, who makes it, and how it is made.

In the late 1930's, I was privileged to be associated with the late O. E. Baker. He was greatly worried about the fact that we would reach a static population by 1960 of something like 140,000,000 to 150,000,000, and that we would steadily decline following that. You remember his statistics showed that no city above 50,000 population in the United States was reproducing itself.

The cities were depending on the villages and farms to replenish the population. This was a matter of great concern to Dr. Baker and other population experts. You know better than I what the population explosion meant. Where the population figure will go eventually, you are better qualified to speculate than I. I dare say that none of us can tell at the present moment.

OUR TOWN AND COUNTRY SOCIETY LOOKS AT ITSELF

Before I became a suburbanite the population explosion was just a cliche to me, but it became a vast reality when I realized that there are 37 children under ten years of age in the block in which I live. There are times when it seems to me they crawl out of the woodwork at our house. They come and go without any inhibitions whatsoever. Our cookie jar is a prime target for grubby little hands that come from blocks around. And if the jar gets empty, they don't mind reminding you that they're citizens of the community and have rights!

I was reminded recently that even Vassar women are producing .9 child per graduate. I happen to know a couple of these fractional children and they're a mess.

I once wondered what would become of the rural church and whether or not people would even be going to churches anywhere. But I find in our midst a great sweep of people into the church. Within two blocks of our home two churches have been built within the last two years and the parking lots are quite extensive. The hordes of people attending are quite evident. Within ten blocks of my home there are eight new churches and all of them are used extensively.

You can look about you along the highways going out from even the smallest of towns, the beautiful homes where people live are strung out for miles. These people go to church somewhere; they buy their food somewhere; they go for recreation somewhere. All one has to do is make note of the number of churches, the market centers with their vast parking facilities, the recreation centers, and the service centers to realize that this is not an urban or even suburban but a nation-wide development.

Almost every community is having the same arguments about providing additional school facilities as they were having forty years ago about providing the meager school facilities such as we had in those days. It is amazing how smoothly school problems are being solved community by community.

The Supreme Court has recently ruled on the distribution of legislative representation from rural versus urban centers. What will it mean? It will be one of the biggest issues to be dealt with in many states, and will be of major concern to most. Do we understand the inter-relationships of interest groups to one another well enough to be able to change the system of representation without seriously damaging or destroying some fundamental considerations? Mechanizing farms and industry is one thing. Altering fundamental institutions and philosophy is something else.

We will need to face up to some new considerations. Because things do move so rapidly, there are those who believe that problems cannot be solved locally and therefore have begun to look to the central federal government. In my opinion, the quickest way we can go about losing the privilege of living in a free, rural-urban community is to assign responsibility to someone else. Whether it is financing schools, farm policy, taxation, or representation in the state legislature, most of it can eventually be settled at a community level.

Before I conclude this expose' of my ignorance and bias, I should like to comment on the farmer as a stabilizing influence in the nation. Today's farmer combines the three great elements of success in America. First, he is a **laborer** who has full understanding of and an appreciation for productive effort. Secondly, he is a **capitalist.** He has a rather vast investment, compared to years past, in production equipment, land, and materials. Quantities of borrowed money or credit are as essential to him as to any other industrialist. Thirdly, he is a **manager** — else he will not be in business long. He must manage effectively his own labor and that of any person he hires, in conjunction with his investment, or soon there is trouble.

On the whole then, he combines these three unique factors, as no other occupant in the American system. He is and has served as a kind of stabilizing gyroscope for America's social and economic system.

He is the miracle in the phenomena of production of food. His physical production plant and capital are in full view. There isn't much that can be concealed from the tax assessor. If local tax rates are determined by those of us who need schools, roads, parks, or libraries, we must have a full understanding of what we are doing. If the farmer's freedom to produce and market is limited by those of us who consume and vote, then we had better beware of what we are doing. We may be limiting our freedom to eat.

No greater responsibility rests on any group in the nation than on the religious, educational, and organization leadership represented here, to see to it that out of this complex comes the best of all possible worlds.

At a precise second, off the California coast over the Pacific Ocean, our Astronaut has to press the switch to fire the retro-rockets in order to descend safely into the Atlantic Ocean off the Florida coast.

We are a long way from knowing when and how to press the switch to control human affairs as complicated as those with which we are dealing. In this situation extreme diligence, consideration, and caution are needed. When the census report is taken in 1970 there will be phenomenal changes to report again. The combined resources looking back on the past six or seven decades can be a powerful influence in preventing any fatalities and in limiting the casualities to as few as possible. At the same time, greater abundance and well-being are available for all, if we are prudent.

If I have sounded like a common pleader for one special segment, then I plead guilty. But I must, even at this late point, say that I do so because of much that I see, hear, and read as a suburbanite. The commercial producers must be accurately recognized for the important role they play in American life, and must be permitted to continue to work in a free atmosphere with support — and not restraint — from the rest of us.

Then, we can keep the miracle of production that has blessed us as a people — as a nation.

RECENT U.S. POPULATION TRENDS AND THEIR CAUSES[1]

CALVIN L. BEALE
Farm Population Branch, Economic Research Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
and
DONALD J. BOGUE
Population Research and Training Center
University of Chicago

I.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF POPULATION TRENDS

DURING THE 12 months ending January 1, 1962, the U.S. population increased in size by 2.9 million persons and grew at the rate of 1.61 percent for the year. This was only a typically "normal" year of the type experienced since World War II when the famed "baby boom" reversed the historic downward trend of the birth rate. Never before in the history of the Nation have so many human beings been added to the population by natural increase as in the last 10 years. By January of 1962, we had passed the 185 million population mark. Unless some drastic and unexpected downturn in birth rate occurs soon, the Census of 1970 will exceed the 210 million mark.

Such phenomenal growth is forcing analysts in many fields to re-evaluate their expectations of future developments. Continued population increases of this magnitude will be certain to alter almost every phase of economic, social, and political life. They raise fundamental questions: For example, do they threaten to lower the real per capita income of the Nation, or are they a precondition of even higher levels of living? Is our supply of national resources adequate to withstand this development, or will we soon follow the course of many nations of Europe and incur a net domestic deficit of food or basic industrial materials. Such questions are now being studied more seriously than ever before.

Dramatic as it is, change in population size is only part of a complex set of population trends. There are changes underway in population distribution and in population composition that are equally impressive and that have economic, social, and political implications equally as fundamental. It is the purpose of this report to review some of the most outstanding of these changes and to describe the underlying causes. Special attention will be given to trends having particular significance for rural areas.

A. DISTRIBUTIONAL TRENDS

Between 1950 and 1960, the population shifted significantly in its distributional pattern in the following ways:

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[1] A substantial part of the clerical work required for this report was supported from a grant to the Population Research and Training Center, University of Chicago, given by the Rockefeller Foundation. The views expressed here are those of the authors. A version of this report was first prepared for discussion by a group of interested persons at the 1961 meeting of the Rural Sociological Society.

1. There was a very strong interregional movement toward the Pacific Coast and the Gulf Coast (including the Atlantic side of Florida).
2. There was a heavy movement toward metropolitan areas, both intraregional and interregional.
3. The growth of metropolitan areas, however, was concentrated largely in suburban metropolitan "rings" outside the central cities, rather than within the central cities themselves.
4. In nonmetropolitan areas there was a very strong urbanization movement; cities in the more remote hinterland grew quite rapidly on the average.
5. Suburbanization assumed extreme dimensions so that suburban fringes sprang up around the peripheries of small cities and even villages.
6. The rural population outside metropolitan areas, and especially the rural-farm population, suffered very substantial losses through outmigration.
7. The rural nonmetropolitan portions of the interior portions of the nation suffered especially severe losses of population; the peripheries of the nation facing the Atlantic, Pacific, the Gulf sections tended to have less severe drains or even gains in rural population.
8. The Negro population has made a dramatic rural-to-urban shift as well as a South-to-North (and West) shift. Moreover, it has begun what promises to be a major suburbanward movement.

Each of these distributional shifts is described and documented briefly in this section; an interpretation of their causes is undertaken in Section II. None of these shifts is new; each represents a continuation of changes underway since 1930 or even earlier. Their effect upon the national social life should be viewed in terms of the cumulative effect of several decades of change.

1. **Regional Distribution.** Between 1950 and 1960, there were very substantial regional differences in the intercensal rate of population growth. The system of Economic Regions/[2] delimits the regions of rapid growth from those of slow growth more effectively than do the traditional nine geographic divisions, and shows the changes noted in table 1 (**1**). Two regions grew at extraordinarily rapid rates in comparison with the national intercensal rate of 18.5 percent:

	% Increase
Region IX – Gulf Coast and Atlantic Flatwoods Region	48.1
Region XIII – Pacific Southwest Region	50.1

In contrast, four interior regions (three of them in the South) grew slowly:

	% Increase
Region II–Eastern Great Lakes and Northeastern Upland Region	9.7
Region VII – Central and Eastern Upland Region	5.1
Region VIII – Southeast Coastal Plain Region	9.6
Region X – South Center and Southwest Plains Region	8.3

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[2] **Economic Areas of the United States.** Donald J. Bogue and Calvin L. Beale, The Free Press, 1961.

Table 1. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY ECONOMIC PROVINCES AND ECONOMIC REGIONS, 1950 & 1960; WITH MEASURES OF DISTRIBUTIONAL CHANGE, 1950 - 1960.

Province and Region	Region Number	Percent of Total Population 1960	1950	Percentage Point Change	% Population Increase 1950-1960
Total		100.0	100.0	0.0	18.5
A. Atlantic Metropolitan Belt Province	......	**20.3**	**20.5**	**−0.2**	**17.5**
Atlantic Metropolitan Belt	I	20.3	20.5	−0.2	17.5
B. The Great Lakes and Northeastern Province	......	**22.9**	**23.5**	**−0.6**	**15.7**
Eastern Great Lakes and Northeastern Upland	II	5.6	6.1	−0.5	9.7
Lower Great Lakes Region	III	14.1	14.0	−0.1	18.6
Upper Great Lakes Region	IV	3.2	3.3	−0.1	14.5
C. The Midwestern Province	......	**13.0**	**13.5**	**−0.5**	**13.6**
North Center (Corn Belt) Region	V	9.6	10.1	−0.5	12.6
Central Plains Region	VI	3.4	3.4	0.0	16.4
D. The Southern Province	......	**29.0**	**30.0**	**−1.1**	**14.7**
Central and Eastern Upland Region	VII	8.3	9.4	−1.1	5.1
Southern Coastal Plains Region	VIII	9.1	9.9	−0.8	9.6
Atlantic Flatwoods and Gulf Coast Region	IX	6.6	5.3	+1.3	48.1
South Center and Southwest Plains Region	X	5.0	5.5	−0.5	8.3
E. The Western Province	......	**14.8**	**12.5**	**+2.3**	**39.6**
Rocky Mountain and Intermountain Region	XI	2.6	2.4	+0.2	26.7
Pacific Northwest Region	XII	2.7	2.7	0.0	21.7
Pacific Southwest Region	XIII	9.5	7.5	+2.0	50.1

Source: **Economic Areas of the United States,** Table-A (1).

The remaining six regions grew at nearly the national rate, except that Region XI, the Rocky Mountain Region, increased at the moderately-above-average rate of 26.7 percent.

Despite the substantial difference in rate of growth, the total redistributive effect for the single decade 1950-1960 was not great. As Table 1 makes clear, the rapid gains of Regions IX and XIII resulted in a net addition to their combined population of the equivalent of 3.3 percent of the national population, and the slow growth of Regions II, VII, VIII, and X caused all four combined to suffer a net redistributive loss equivalent only to 2.9 percent of the national population. However, the prolonged operation of these trends over several decades is building up a dense population along the southern and Pacific coastal fringes of the country and giving the interior sections of the South a slowly diminishing share of the national total.

Within each of the economic regions there are substantial growth variations which are revealed by the economic subregions and the individual state economic areas. Of the 121 economic subregions into which the economic regions are divided, 19 actually lost population, and an additional 38 increased by less than 10 percent. At the other extreme, five subregions increased by 50 percent or more, and an additional 17 increased by 25 - 49 percent. Map 2 shows the subregions of above-average and below-average growth. Table 2 lists the subregions of exceptional population gain and actual population loss/[3]. The subregions where population declined are concentrated in the hilly or mountainous portion of the Appalachians and Ozark-Quachita Highlands, in depressed coal-mining areas, agricultural sections of the Old South Coastal Plain, rural sections of the Northern Central Plains, and marginal portions of the Corn Belt.

Thus, despite a fairly rapid rate of national growth, much of this growth accrued only to a comparatively few subregions while a majority of regions and subregions grew moderately slowly, and some actually lost population.

2. **Metropolitan and nonmetropolitan distribution.** Between 1950 and 1960, the long-term drift toward the metropolitan centers of the nation continued unabated. The 1960 census recognized 212 "standard metropolitan statistical areas" (hereafter referred to as SMSA's)/[4]. Together, these major population

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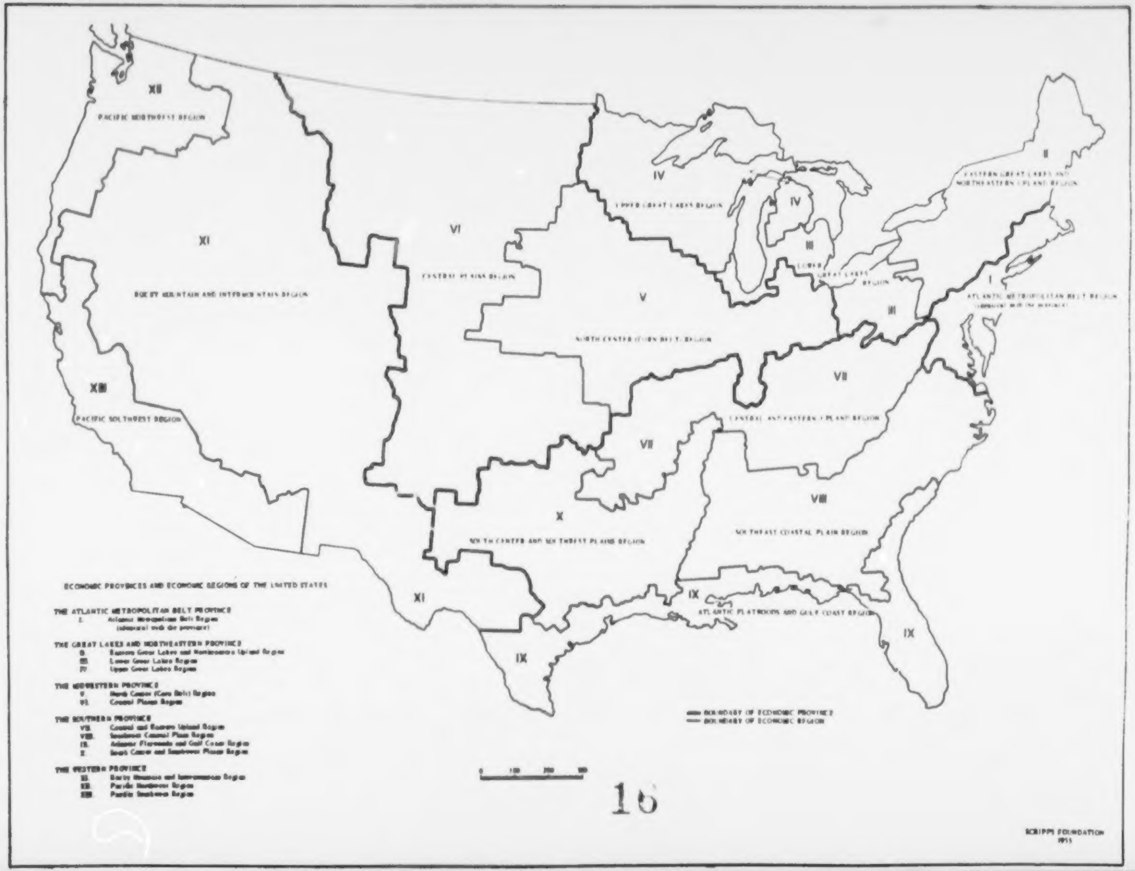
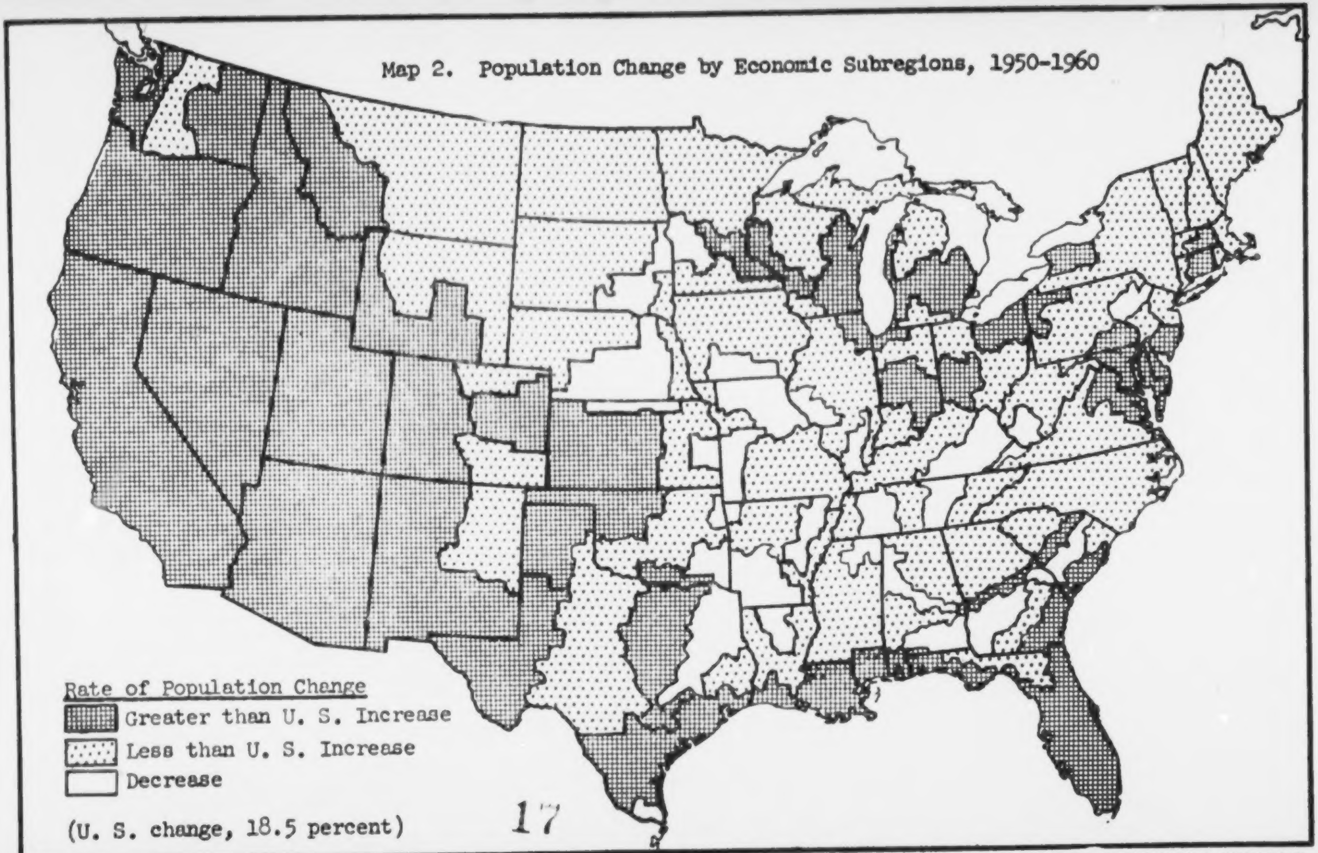
[3] /Rates of growth, 1950-1960 are reported for the total urban and rural portions of each economic region, economic subregion, and State economic area, separately for metropolitan and nonmetropolitan parts in table A of Bogue and Beale, **Economic Areas of the United States** (1).

[4] /"Except in New England an SMSA is a county or group of contiguous counties which contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more or "twin cities" with a combined population of at least 50,000. In addition to the county or counties containing such a city or cities, contiguous counties are included in an SMSA if, according to certain criteria, they are essentially metropolitan in character and are socially and economically integrated with the central city."


XII
PACIFIC NORTHWEST REGION
XI
ROCKY MOUNTAIN AND INTERMOUNTAIN REGION
XIII
PACIFIC SOUTHWEST REGION
VI
CENTRAL PLAINS REGION
IV
UPPER GREAT LAKES REGION
IV
V
NORTH CENTER (CORN BELT) REGION
III
LOWER GREAT LAKES REGION
III
II
EASTERN GREAT LAKES AND NORTHEASTERN UPLAND REGION
I
ATLANTIC METROPOLITAN BELT REGION (identical with the province)
VII
CENTRAL AND EASTERN UPLAND REGION
VII
VIII
SOUTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN REGION
X
SOUTH CENTER AND SOUTHWEST PLAINS REGION
XI
IX
IX
ATLANTIC FLATWOODS AND GULF COAST REGION
IX
THE ATLANTIC METROPOLITAN BELT PROVINCE
I. Atlantic Metropolitan Belt Region (identical with the province)
THE GREAT LAKES AND NORTHEASTERN PROVINCE
II. Eastern Great Lakes and Northeastern Upland Region
III. Lower Great Lakes Region
IV. Upper Great Lakes Region
THE MIDWESTERN PROVINCE
V. North Center (Corn Belt) Region
VI. Central Plains Region
THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE
VII. Central and Eastern Upland Region
VIII. Southeast Coastal Plain Region
IX. Atlantic Flatwoods and Gulf Coast Region
X. South Center and Southwest Plains Region
THE WESTERN PROVINCE
XI. Rocky Mountain and Intermountain Region
XII. Pacific Northwest Region
XIII. Pacific Southwest Region
BOUNDARY OF ECONOMIC PROVINCE
BOUNDARY OF ECONOMIC REGION
0
100
200
300

ECONOMIC PROVINCES AND ECONOMIC REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

SCRIPPS FOUNDATION
1955



Map 2. Population Change by Economic Subregions, 1950-1960

Rate of Population Change
▩ Greater than U. S. Increase
▨ Less than U. S. Increase
☐ Decrease
(U. S. change, 18.5 percent)

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE NEG. ERS 668-61 (10) ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE

Table 2

ECONOMIC SUBREGIONS THAT EXPERIENCED AN INTERCENSAL POPULATION GROWTH OF 25 PERCENT OR MORE, OR A POPULATION LOSS, 1950 - 1960

Region	Subregion Number	Name of Economic Subregion	% Change, 1950-1960
		Subregions increasing 25.0 percent or more, 1950 - 1960.	
I	14	Philadelphia Subregion (Part in New Jersey)	42.2
I	15	South Jersey Coast, Delmarva and Virginia Peninsulas Subregion	29.3
I	19	Northern Piedmont Subregion	29.8
VIII	35	South Carolina-Georgia Fall Line Sand Hills Subregion	25.6
IX	39	Florida Peninsula Subregion	101.0
IX	40	Florida Flatwoods Subregion	46.3
V	47	West Central Ohio-Central Indiana Subregion	26.1
IX	58	Central Gulf Coast Subregion	29.6
IX	77	Louisiana Sugarcane Subregion	26.0
IX	78	Louisiana-Texas Coast Prairies Subregion	41.1
IX	98	Corpus Christi-San Antonio Subregion	26.8
X	102	Southern High Plains Subregion	55.4
VI	103	South Central Plains Subregion	31.7
XI	108	Trans Pecos and Southern New Mexico Subregion	45.0
XI	112	Snake River Valley, Wasatch Front and Utah Valley Subregion	26.3
XI	113	Western Desert, Semi-Desert and Mountain Subregion	27.3
XIII	114	Southern Arizona Subregion	84.9
XIII	115	Southern California Subregion	59.7
XIII	116	California Central Valley Subregion	35.4
XIII	117	Central Pacific Coast and San Francisco Bay Subregion	36.5
XII	120	Alaska Subregion	150.3
XII	121	Hawaii Subregion	26.6
		Subregions losing population, 1950 - 1960.	
II	11	Pennsylvania Anthracite Subregion	− 9.3
VII	31	Southern Appalachian Coal Mining Subregion	− 13.5
VIII	36	South Carolina-Georgia Upper Coastal Plain Subregion	− 1.4
VIII	41	Georgia-Alabama Central Coastal Plain Subregion	− 0.8
VII	44	Eastern and Western Highland Rim Subregion	− 7.7
VIII	56	Alabama Upper Coastal Plain Subregion	− 4.2
VIII	60	Tennessee-Mississippi Fall Line Slopes and Pine Hills Subregion	− 9.5

Region	Subregion Number	Name of Economic Subregion	% Change, 1950-1960
VII	62	Southern Illinois Subregion	−10.3
V	71	Southern Iowa-Northern Missouri-West Central Illinois Subregion	− 4.3
X	75	Crowley's Ridge and Arkansas Prairies Subregion	−14.6
X	80	Arkansas-Louisiana-Texas Coastal Plain Subregion	− 6.6
VII	81	Ouachita Mountains Subregion	−11.7
VII	82	Springfield Upland Subregion	− 1.4
V	84	Kansas-Missouri Corn Belt Border Subregion	− 0.5
V	87	Minnesota-South Dakota Corn Belt Margin Subregion	− 2.4
V	88	Minnesota Forest Margin Subregion	− 0.9
VI	91	Black Prairies Subregion (Southern Part)	− 2.5
V	92	Nebraska-South Dakota Corn Belt Margin Subregion	− 3.1
V	93	Kansas-Nebraska Corn Belt Winter Wheat Transition Subregion	− 9.4

Source: 1960 Census of Population, Table 38 (10).

clusters contained a total of 112-plus million persons, or 63 percent of the total population. Between 1950 and 1960, these areas grew by 26.4 percent and managed to capture 84 percent of the increase in the total population of the Nation during this decade. The vast nonmetropolitan territory grew only at the rate of 7.5 percent, or only about 28 percent as fast as the SMSA's. This was merely a replication of the 1940-1950 experience which saw about 80 percent of the total national increase absorbed by even fewer metropolitan areas and during which the nonmetropolitan areas grew only 27 percent as fast as the metropolitan areas.

Inasmuch as the Economic Areas system recognizes metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas separately, it is possible to measure the extent of population concentration and comparative rates of growth in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan portions of each economic region and subregion. Table 3 presents this information. The extreme right-hand column of this table presents data which show the percent of each economic region's population that was residing in metropolitan areas in 1960.

Five of the regions are predominantly metropolitan, and eight are predominantly nonmetropolitan in composition. Region I (Atlantic Metropolitan Belt), Region XIII (Pacific Southwest), and Region III (Lower Great Lakes) are especially heavily metropolitanized. The eight least metropolitanized regions are:

	Population Percent Metropolitan, 1960
Region XI — Rocky Mountain Region	26.2
Region VIII — Southeast Coastal Plain Region	33.3
Region VI — Central Plains Region	34.7
Region IV — Upper Great Lakes Region	37.2
Region X — South Central and Southwest Plains Region	37.4
Region V — North Central (Corn Belt) Region	39.6
Region VII — Central and Eastern Upland Region	41.7
Region II — Eastern Great Lakes and Northeastern Upland Region	48.2

Table 3

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN TOTAL POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN PORTIONS OF ECONOMIC REGIONS, BY URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE, 1950 - 1960

Province and Region	Region No.	All Areas			Metropolitan Areas			Nonmetropolitan Areas			Percent Metropolitan, 1960
		Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	
Total	......	18.5	29.3	− 0.8	26.4	30.6	1.8	7.5	25.0	− 1.6	62.1
A. Atlantic Metropolitan Belt Province	......	17.5	18.6	10.8	16.2	17.5	4.8	32.1	44.9	22.7	90.6
Atlantic Metropolitan Belt Region	I	17.5	18.6	10.8	16.2	17.5	4.8	32.1	44.9	22.7	90.6
B. The Great Lakes & Northeastern Province	......	15.7	19.6	6.5	19.4	22.1	3.5	8.9	10.1	8.0	67.4
Eastern Great Lakes and Northeastern Upland	II	9.7	8.4	11.8	12.2	10.8	18.0	7.5	4.4	9.9	48.2
Lower Great Lakes Region	III	18.6	22.1	5.8	20.3	23.2	0.5	11.7	12.9	10.8	82.0
Upper Great Lakes Region	IV	14.5	27.9	− 0.1	28.9	39.1	− 15.1	7.4	16.0	2.2	37.2
C. The Midwestern Province	......	13.6	28.0	− 2.0	30.1	35.6	4.4	5.2	19.3	− 2.9	38.3
North Center (Corn Belt) Region	V	12.6	23.7	0.2	25.2	29.3	6.1	5.6	16.6	− 0.7	39.6
Central Plains Region	VI	16.4	41.6	− 8.1	49.5	59.5	− 2.9	4.1	26.3	− 8.6	34.7
D. The Southern Province	......	14.7	38.3	− 6.3	35.0	43.5	1.6	2.7	29.4	− 7.6	43.7
Central and Eastern Upland Region	VII	5.1	20.2	− 6.6	18.2	22.2	1.7	− 2.6	15.9	− 7.8	41.7
Southeast Coastal Plain Region	VIII	9.6	32.3	− 5.1	28.8	37.7	5.2	2.1	26.4	− 6.6	33.3
Atlantic Flatwoods & Gulf Coast Region	IX	48.1	63.2	14.7	56.7	63.4	16.7	33.8	62.5	13.9	66.1
South Center & Southwest Plain Region	X	8.3	40.8	− 19.9	37.8	55.2	− 28.3	− 3.8	26.6	− 18.8	37.4
E. The Western Province	......	39.6	55.7	1.9	48.5	58.8	− 7.0	21.4	42.9	6.6	71.4
Rocky Mountain & Intermountain Region	XI	26.7	54.2	0.3	60.2	79.4	− 15.7	18.0	41.4	1.7	26.2
Pacific Northwest Region	XII	21.7	34.2	4.3	23.9	33.7	− 5.7	19.2	35.1	9.0	54.7
Pacific Southwest Region	XIII	50.1	61.6	1.4	53.0	62.1	− 6.5	30.8	54.3	13.2	88.4

Source: **Economic Areas of the United States,** Bogue & Beale, Table A (1).

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There is almost no correlation between degree of metropolitanization and rate of growth. While it is true that both of the fastest-growing economic regions are highly metropolitanized, two other highly metropolitanized regions (Regions I and III) grew only at an average rate. Moreover, the least metropolitanized region of all (Region XI) grew faster than all but two of the more metropolitanized regions. Thus, despite the fact that metropolitan areas were growing much faster than nonmetropolitan areas, the over-all regional rate of growth was only mildly influenced by the proportion of the population residing in metropolitan areas. This apparent inconsistency is explained by the fact that there are regional differences in the rates of metropolitan growth. In three regions (Regions I, II, and VII), the metropolitan areas grew more slowly than the average growth rate for the Nation while in Regions VI, IX, XI, and XIII metropolitan growth was almost explosive. In other words, there is a genuine regional differential in metropolitan growth. In the more densely settled regions, nonmetropolitan areas tended to grow some as a result of the spill-over from metropolitan areas; Region I was especially noteworthy in this respect for the nonmetropolitan areas grew faster than the metropolitan areas.

Although metropolitan areas grew more rapidly than nonmetropolitan areas, there was wide variation in this. Perhaps the most extraordinary metropolitanization development occurred in Regions VI, X, and XI where metropolitan areas grew moderately rapidly despite the fact that the nonmetropolitan portions grew very slowly and even lost population over much of their territory.

Table 6 reveals the somewhat surprising fact that the size of the SMSA had almost nothing to do with its rate of growth. SMSA's of one million or more grew at almost exactly the same rate as SMSA's of less than 100,000. The variations in growth between places of different size are associated primarily with regional location of such places rather than with size as such.

3. **Rural-urban.** In considering changes in the population by urban-rural status, one must distinguish clearly between changes in comparable areas over time and changes that reflect reclassification of the status of areas as a result of the trends occurring within them. The census results show only the latter type of data. On this basis the urban population of the Nation gained by 29.3 percent from 1950-1960 while the rural population declined by 0.8 percent. On current boundaries, urban people numbered 125,269,000 in 1960, or nearly 70 percent of the total population, whereas rural people numbered 54,054,000. The fact that in 1960 the Current Population Survey of the Bureau of the Census was still being conducted on the urban-rural boundaries of 1950 enables us to estimate how many persons live in territory that was rural in 1950 but that was reclassified as urban in 1960. The CPS for April, 1960, showed 69,964,000 rural people, or nearly 16,000,000 more than the decennial census. Some of this difference could be attributed to sampling variation in the CPS. Some of it stems from the fact that the concept of urban residence was broadened somewhat from previous usage by changes introduced into the 1960 Census. But, the overwhelming part of the 16,000,000 reclassified population results from growth of suburban districts or former small towns that changed the character of the areas concerned from rural to urban/5.

5/The difference between 69,964,000 and 54,054,000 is actually a net difference in that some territory was transferred from urban to rural through loss of population, but this factor is a very minor one.

The total territory of the Nation that was rural in 1950 experienced a net inmovement of population in the decade despite the heavy losses from the farm population. This net inmovement was probably on the order of 10 percent of the 1950 base population. (The amount cannot be measured precisely.) However, if one considers the rural population as currently defined in each decade, then rural people remained almost stationary in numbers and lost an equivalent to their natural increase from outmovement and the change in the character of communities from rural to urban.

One phenomenon which may not be widely appreciated is that within the slow-growing nonmetropolitan territory of the Nation, the urban population is growing at an above-average rate. In fact, its 25 percent rate of increase from 1950-1960 almost equals the rate of growth of all SMSA's. Even in regions where the rural parts of nonmetropolitan areas were declining, the urban population increased substantially. Most of this growth is real, rather than merely being the fruit of ambitious annexation policies.

Of the 13 economic regions, in only two did rural people still comprise a majority of the population in 1960 (see table 4). These were the Central and Eastern Upland (which includes the Appalachians), and the Southeast Coastal Plains and Piedmont. The rural proportions in these most heavily rural regions were 50.1 and 52.5, and will surely decline below 50.0 in the very near future. The most urban region is no longer the Atlantic Metropolitan Belt which has been regarded as the exemplification of urbanism for so long. As a result of the tremendous growth of the Pacific Southwest since 1950 — plus the existence of rather liberal annexation policies — that region has become the most urban (87.1 percent). With the notable exception of the Pacific Southwest where the rural population was nearly stationary, one finds that the rural population has grown where the urban population is relatively most numerous, but has declined in the least urban areas. The existence of a large, dense, and growing urban population in a region tends to create conditions of population growth in rural counties of the same region. This is true not only because an ever-larger number of the rural counties is within commuting range of urban centers, but also because more distant counties are affected by the accession of businesses or residents who do not need frequent commutation to the city but whose work or choice of residence is related to the city — especially the large metropolitan city. These are counties beyond "exurbia" which the geographer Wilbur Zelinsky has referred to as the "urban penumbra".

4. **Farm-Nonfarm.** The rural-farm population, as counted in the 1960 Census, numbered 13,445,000, or just 7.5 percent of the total population. The count in 1950 was 23,048,000. A heavy decline in farm population has assuredly occurred, but unfortunately, a major change in definition makes direct comparison of the 1950 and 1960 figures impossible. (16) The authors estimate that roughly 2/5 of the change shown between the two censuses is caused by use of a more restrictive definition of farm residence in 1960. (The Current Population Survey showed a higher count of farm people than did the decennial census in both 1960 and 1950, but the absolute amount of change over the 10 years was about the same as in the census.)

The South and the Northeast show the greatest rates of farm population loss. Heavy declines in the South have stemmed especially from (1) the widespread abandonment of tenant farming in cotton and tobacco areas and the consolidation of land by landlords into larger operating units, (2) the rapid conversion of certain upland areas to forestry, and (3) the reclassification as

Table 4
POPULATION BY ECONOMIC PROVINCES AND REGIONS, BY URBAN - RURAL RESIDENCE, 1960

Name of Region	Region No.	Population, 1960			Percent Urban	Percent Rural
		Total	Urban	Rural		
Total		179,323,175	125,270,616	54,052,559	69.9	30.1
A. Atlantic Metropolitan Belt Province		36,500,804	31,603,170	4,897,634	86.6	13.4
Atlantic Metropolitan Belt Region	I	36,500,804	31,603,170	4,897,634	86.6	13.4
B. The Great Lakes and Northeastern Province		41,079,517	29,798,281	11,281,236	72.5	27.5
Eastern Great Lakes - Northeastern Upland Region	II	10,116,810	6,087,691	4,029,119	60.2	39.8
Lower Great Lakes Region	III	25,212,494	20,358,868	4,853,626	80.7	19.3
Upper Great Lakes Region	IV	5,750,213	3,351,722	2,398,491	58.3	41.7
C. The Midwestern Province		23,183,783	13,550,952	9,632,831	58.5	41.5
North Center (Corn Belt) Region	V	17,169,930	9,942,641	7,227,289	57.9	42.1
Central Plains Region	VI	6,013,853	3,608,311	2,405,542	60.0	40.0
D. The Southern Province		52,079,103	29,616,166	22,462,937	56.9	43.1
Central and Eastern Upland Region	VII	14,882,135	7,421,755	7,460,380	49.9	50.1
Southeast Coastal Plain Region	VIII	16,391,896	7,788,643	8,603,253	47.5	52.5
Atlantic Flatwoods and Gulf Coast Region	IX	11,812,018	8,971,391	2,840,627	76.0	24.0
South Center and Southwest Plains Region	X	8,993,054	5,434,377	3,558,677	60.4	39.6
E. The Western Province		26,479,968	20,702,047	5,777,921	78.2	21.8
Rocky Mountain and Intermountain Region	XI	4,568,878	2,727,282	1,841,596	59.7	40.3
Pacific Northwest Region	XII	4,918,314	3,169,316	1,748,998	64.4	35.6
Pacific Southwest Region	XIII	16,992,776	14,805,449	2,187,327	87.1	12.9

Source: Bogue and Beale, **Economic Areas of the United States**, Table A (1).

nonfarm of many residential-type operations, especially in the Appalachian areas. In the over-whelmingly nonagricultural Northeast, the increased conversion of farmland to urban and other nonfarm uses and the reclassification in the census of many areas from rural to urban have added to the long-time decline of agriculture in that region to produce large farm population losses.

There are some scattered areas where farm population increased, but only in Texas can one find a sizeable number of them. Texas had 16 counties showing such increases. Irrigation developments — mostly in the High Plains — were generally responsible for these exceptions to the over-all pattern.

There has been a tendency for an increasing proportion of farm operators to live off-farm, but in absolute terms the number of farmers doing so has not increased since 1950. The group still accounts for only 7.6 percent of all farmers, according to the Census of Agriculture. Thus, although one finds this trend commented upon in various parts of the country, it has not as yet resulted in any general relocation of farm operators in towns.

5. **Size-of-place distribution.** The growth of population settlements induced the incorporation of nearly 1,000 additional communities in the 1950's, bringing the total number of incorporated places up to 18,088. Three-fourths of the additional new incorporations are found in urbanized areas, for there, after all, is where much of the creation of new communities in the form of suburbs has taken place. The most notable trend in the distribution of population by size of place was the declining population within the limits of the largest cities. In 1950, there were 18 cities in the country of 500,000 or more residents and every one had grown during the 1940's. In a marked reversal of trend, 14 of these 18 cities declined in population during the 1950's — some rather sharply — and the four that grew did so only through huge annexations of territory or by having an abnormally large land area at the beginning of the decade. In every instance the declining size of the largest cities reflects only a redistribution of population within the metropolitan area rather than a moribund state in the metro area as a whole.

Three size classes of cities have absorbed most of the growth of population (table 5). They are the groups 10,000 to 25,000, 25,000 to 50,000, and 50,000 to 100,000. In each of these classes, most of the places already in the group in 1950 grew, additional cities were added as a result of the growth of smaller places, and completely new cities — usually suburban — were created by incorporation. Together, these size classes contained 19.5 percent of the nation's population in 1950, but had 25.8 percent by 1960. Towns of 5,000 to [illegible]00 size held their own in retaining their share of the total population during the decade. Towns of 2,000 to 5,000 people experienced some absolute growth of population as a group but declined relatively. The population in places of less than 2,000 population dropped slightly (even when urban suburbs are included) and the proportionate importance of such communities fell sharply. Thus the Nation has had a rapid development of its medium size municipalities, a rather average growth of places just above or below medium size, and a condition of stagnation or decline of the population in the largest and smallest places. A decline in the number of population of **small** places had been evident since 1950. However, although the loss of population in the **large** cities was not surprising to demographers who had followed the trend in demolition of housing units in cities and of changing size of urban households, it came as a shock to incredulous mayors and chambers of commerce to whom population growth was the **sine qua non** of civic pride.

6. **County distribution by population size.** Of the 3,134 counties and county equivalents in the United States, 361 are entirely or partly included in metropolitan areas. The metropolitan counties number less than 12 percent of all counties, yet 84 percent of the Nation's total population growth in the 1950's occurred within them. In view of this concentration of growth it is not surprising to note that almost half of all counties (49 percent) actually declined in population. The same type of phenomenon took place in the 1940's, but since the over-all amount of population growth was much lower in that decade the anomaly between the rapid growth of metropolitan areas and the decline or near-stationary trend of most other counties was more impressive in the 1950's.

For many years the modal-sized counties have been those having between 10,000 to 50,000 people. However, in contrast to so many other aspects of American life in which the tendency has been towards an increased clustering trend around the mode or average and a reduction of extremes, the modal-sized county has been declining in frequency.

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTIES BY POPULATION SIZE — 1940, 1950, 1960
(Includes independent cities and other county equivalents.)

Population Size of County	Number			Percent Distribution			Percent Change in Number of Counties Since 1940
	1960	1950	1940	1960	1950	1940	
Total	3,134	3,112	3,100	100.0	100.0	100.0	1.1
50,000 or more ..	596	501	442	19.0	16.1	14.3	34.8
10,000 to 50,000	1,683	1,833	1,940	53.7	58.9	62.6	− 13.2
Under 10,000	855	778	718	27.3	25.0	23.2	19.1

Source: **1960 Census of Population,** table H (10), and **1950 Census of Population,** table H, (6).

It can be seen from the table above that there were 257 fewer counties having between 10,000 and 50,000 people in 1960 than there were in 1940, and that such counties now comprise barely more than one-half of all counties. By contrast, both extremes — the very populous counties and the very small counties — became more numerous. It is obvious from these data that the Nation is experiencing an increasing divergence in the density of land settlement in its basic political unit — the county.

Of the counties that have been losing population or that have less than 10,000 people, the great majority are agricultural. It is not the purpose of this report to deal with the implications of current trends, but it is obvious that declining population, and the problems of very low density of settlement and low absolute population levels per county which accompany it in rural areas are exceptionally widespread. It would be unfortunate if the attention being focused on the rapid growth of metropolitan areas and suburbs were to obscure the antithetical trend which affects so much of the rest of the Nation.

7. **Type-of-place distribution.** As yet the authors have made only a few tentative analyses of population trends with communities classified accord-

Table 5

POPULATION IN GROUPS OF PLACES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SIZE — 1960 & 1950

Size of Place	Population		Percentage Distribution		Percent Change in Population
	1960	1950	1960	1950	1950-1960
Total U. S. Population	179,323,175	151,325,798	100.0	100.0	18.5
Total, all places	125,802,087	100,049,413	70.2	66.1	25.7
1,000,000 or more	17,484,059	17,404,450	9.8	11.5	0.5
100,000 - 1,000,000	33,529,298	27,155,201	18.7	17.9	23.5
50,000 - 100,000	13,835,902	8,930,823	7.7	5.9	54.9
25,000 - 50,000	14,950,612	8,834,919	8.3	5.8	69.2
10,000 - 25,000	17,568,286	11,877,759	9.8	7.8	47.9
5,000 - 10,000	9,779,714	8,192,636	5.5	5.4	19.4
2,000 - 5,000	9,577,903	8,403,563	5.3	5.6	14.0
Under 2,000	9,076,313	9,250,062	5.1	6.1	– 1.9

Source: 1960 Census of Population, tables 5, 7 and 8 (10).

ing to type. Exploratory work indicates that on a nationwide basis a community's regional or subregional location is more significant than its economic type in influencing its growth rate. Some significant exceptions to this are: (1) the education centers, (2) the medical centers, and (3) the recreation centers; these tend to be growing more rapidly than the communities of corresponding size in the region in which they are located. We also hypothesized that Governmental centers (such as county seats) would grow more rapidly than other nearby towns but exploratory tabulations did not support the idea very consistently.

SMSA's of a type where manufacturing is a dominating element of the basic economy grew more slowly, on the average, than other types of SMSA's. This may be demonstrated by classifying SMSA's according to the classification of metropolitan areas of 300,000 or more recently developed by O. Dudley Duncan and his associates. (3) Growth rates between 1950 and 1960 for each of the seven categories in this classification are as follows:

Type of Metropolis	Average of Percent Change for Individual Places, 1950 - 1960		
	Total	Central Cities	Metropolitan Rings
1. National metropolis (5 largest)	25.9	2.2	70.9
2. Diversified manufacturing with metropolitan functions	16.2	— 8.2	41.4
3. Diversified manufacturing with few metropolitan functions	20.9	0.4	49.4
4. Specialized manufacturing	15.5	2.1	34.4
5. Regional metropolis	33.2	17.0	62.0
6. Regional capital submetropolitan	31.7	16.4	68.5
7. Special cases	51.6	62.5	49.5

This slower growth of manufacturing SMSA's was also characteristic both of their central cities and their metropolitan rings. It is not clear, however, whether this is due uniquely to their economic classification or to the fact that all are located in regions where over-all growth was low. The very rapidly growing "special" cases" are primarily developing centers along the southern border of the Nation, which many persons still mistakenly regard merely as winter vacation spas or retirement communities (Miami, Tampa, San Diego, San Antonio, Phoenix, etc.).

8. **Central City — suburbs in metropolitan areas.** In each decade since 1920, the "metropolitan ring" or part of the SMSA lying outside the central city has grown more rapidly than the central city itself, and the 1950 - 1960 decade continued this trend. Whereas the central cities languished at an average growth of only 10.7 percent between 1950 and 1960, the metropolitan rings increased at a rate of 48.6 percent. This large differential between central cities and suburbs was characteristic of all regions (see table 6). In fact, almost all of the modest net increases in the population of central cities were due to annexation. Table 6 shows population growth rates for the central cities and metropolitan rings according to the 1950 boundaries as controls to the effect of annexation. With population gain from annexation thus controlled, the central city growth was almost zero (1.5 percent) while the suburban growth was a whopping 61.7 percent. Thus, as a group, central cities were

among the demographically stagnant parts of the Nation. Since their birth rates were well above replacement, this could only mean that they were losing population in substantial amounts through outmigration.

Table 7 shows that this tendency toward slow central growth and rapid suburban growth was characteristic of both small and large SMSA's. This suggests that most central cities in the Nation, irrespective of size, have largely filled up their space with settlement, and that henceforth they can grow only by annexation or by increasing average density.

9. **Urbanization and suburbanization of Negroes.** In 1960, 73.2 percent of the Negro population was residing in urban areas. Consequently, it was somewhat more urban than the white population. Only two decades ago less than ½ of the Negro population was living in urban areas and Negroes were considerably more rural in their distribution than were the whites. This change represents the climax of a process that has been underway for more than a century; since 1850, the Negro population has been urbanizing at an accelerating pace. Inasmuch as the remaining rural Negro population still has many landless tenant farmers and farm laborers, it may be expected that the urbanward movement of Negroes will continue. This flow is not only toward northern industrial centers, but toward cities in the South and West as well.

Table 6

PERCENT INCREASE IN POPULATION WITHIN CENTRAL CITIES AND METROPOLITAN RINGS OF STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, HOLDING CITY BOUNDARIES CONSTANT: 1950 - 1960

Region and Size of SMSA in 1960	SMSA Total	Central Cities	Metropolitan Rings
United States, total	26.4	1.5	61.7
Regions:			
Northwest	13.0	− 3.3	35.0
North Central	23.5	− 1.6	66.5
South	36.2	5.3	83.3
West	48.5	14.5	84.1
SMSA Population in 1960:			
3,000,000 or more	23.2	0.6	72.2
1,000,000 to 3,000,000	25.0	− 2.2	52.7
500,000 to 1,000,000	36.0	4.8	81.1
250,000 to 500,000	25.6	2.2	51.9
100,000 to 250,000	25.8	4.6	54.5
Under 100,000	24.4	8.6	69.9

Source: 1960 Census of Population (11).

Table 7

METROPOLITAN CENTRAL CITIES THAT LOST POPULATION FROM 1950 TO 1960

(Boundaries not held constant where annexations occurred.)

	Percent Change, 1950-1960	
	SMSA	Central City
Albany - Schenectady - Troy, N.Y.	11.6	− 6.8
Altoona, Pa.	− 1.6	−10.1
Atlantic City, N.J.	21.5	− 3.4
Augusta, Ga.*	33.7	− 1.2
Baltimore, Md.	22.9	− 1.1
Binghamton, N.Y.	15.1	− 5.9
Boston, Mass.	7.4	−13.0
Bridgeport, Conn.	22.2	− 1.2
Buffalo, N.Y.	20.0	− 8.2
Canton, Ohio	20.2	− 2.8
Charleston, S.C.	31.3	− 6.1
Chattanooga, Tenn. - Ga.*	14.9	− 0.8
Chicago, Ill.*	20.1	− 1.9
Cincinnati, Ohio - Ky.*	18.5	− 0.3
Cleveland, Ohio	22.6	− 4.2
Detroit, Mich.	24.7	− 9.7
Fall River, Mass. - Rhode Island	0.6	−10.7
Harrisburg, Pa.	18.1	−11.0
Hartford, Conn.	29.2	− 8.6
Huntington - Ashland, W. Va. - Ky.	3.7	− 2.2
Jackson, Mich.	22.3	− 0.7
Jacksonville, Fla.	49.8	− 1.7
Jersey City, N.J.	− 5.7	− 7.7
Johnstown, Pa.	− 3.6	−14.7
Knoxville, Tenn.	9.2	−10.4
Lancaster, Pa.*	18.6	− 4.3
Lawrence - Haverhill, Mass. - N.H.	2.8	− 8.2
Lowell, Mass.	16.2	− 5.3
Macon, Ga.*	33.6	− 0.7
Minneapolis - St. Paul, Minn.	28.8	− 4.4
Muskegon - Muskegon Heights, Mich.	23.4	− 1.8
Nashville, Tenn.*	24.2	− 2.0
New Bedford, Mass.	0.8	− 6.1
New Haven, Conn.	15.6	− 7.5
New York, N.Y.	11.9	− 1.4
Newark, N.J.	15.0	− 7.6
Peoria, Ill.*	15.3	− 7.8
Philadelphia, Pa. - N.J.	18.3	− 3.3
Pittsburgh, Pa.	8.7	−10.7
Portland, Me.	0.6	− 6.5
Portland, Oreg. - Wash.	16.6	− 0.3
Providence - Pawtucket, R.I. - Mass.	7.4	−12.6
Reading, Pa.	7.7	−10.2
Richmond, Va.	24.5	− 4.5

Rochester, N.Y.	20.3	− 4.2
St. Louis, Mo. - Ill.	19.8	−17.4
San Francisco - Oakland, Calif.	24.2	− 4.5
Scranton, Pa.	− 8.9	−11.2
Syracuse, N.Y.	21.2	− 2.1
Trenton, N.J.	15.9	−10.8
Washington, D.C.	36.7	− 4.8
Wheeling, W. Va.	− 3.0	− 9.3
Wilkes Barre - Hazleton, Pa.	−11.5	−14.9
Wilmington, Del.	36.4	−13.2
Worcester, Mass.	6.7	− 8.3
York, Pa.*	17.6	− 9.1

*Denotes central cities declining in total population despite annexation of at least 1,000 people during the decade.

Source: **1960 Census of Population** (9).

Until World War II when Negroes migrated to the city, they usually settled in deteriorating areas which almost always adjoin central business districts. As a result, they tended to be almost entirely central city residents. During the 1940-50 decade, small evidences of a suburbanward movement of Negroes manifested themselves. During the 1950-60 decade this trend became a noticeable flow. Since the pattern of entrance into a new neighborhood by any ethnic group is typically one of rapid acceleration after an initial penetration, it may be expected that during the 1960-70 decade this comparatively new development will become a trend and pick up speed.

Evidence of this new trend may be seen by noting the following statistics of Negro growth in the central cities and metropolitan rings of the five largest SMSA's.

SMSA	Increase 1950-60 (Number)		Percent Increase 1950-60	
	Central Cities	Metropolitan Rings	Central Cities	Metropolitan Rings
New York	340,323	67,075	45.5	92.4
Chicago	320,372	33,867	65.0	77.6
Los Angeles	168,971	76,976	96.3	177.8
Philadelphia	153,199	38,030	40.7	36.6
Detroit	181,717	19,353	60.5	33.8

A ten-year flow of 20,000 to 75,000 Negroes into the suburbs for each of the five largest SMSA's is indeed a new development. That this is not just an isolated event of these very largest places may be seen from the following summary which reports the number of Negroes living in metropolitan rings of the 15 largest SMSA's and the percent of the ring population which now is Negro. In 11 of the 15 the number exceeds 50,000, but the proportion Negro is still low, not exceeding 7 percent.

SMSA	Metropolitan Ring Negro Population 1960	Percent Negro 1960
New York, N.Y.	139,694	4.8
Los Angeles - Long Beach, Calif.	120,270	3.1
Chicago, Ill.	77,517	2.9
Philadelphia, Pa.	142,064	6.1
Detroit, Mich.	76,647	3.7
San Francisco - Oakland, Calif.	80,753	4.8
Boston, Mass	14,616	0.8
Pittsburgh, Pa.	60,807	3.4
St. Louis, Mo. - Ill.	80,496	6.1
Washington, D.C. - Md.- Va.	75,446	6.1
Cleveland, Ohio	6,455	0.7
Baltimore, Md.	51,986	6.6
Newark, N.J.	86,049	6.7
Minneapolis - St. Paul, Minn.	677	0.1
Buffalo, N.Y.	12,006	1.6

Source: 1960 Census of Population (12).

B. COMPOSITION TRENDS

In addition to distributional shifts, the population experienced significant composition changes between 1950 and 1960. As with distribution, most of these changes were continuations of trends already underway in the 1940-1950 decade or earlier.

1. **Age Composition.** The age composition of a population is closely tied to its fertility rate. Low fertility brings an older age composition while high fertility brings a younger age composition. During the long decline in fertility from 1820 to 1940, the median age of the population rose steadily from census to census until, in 1950, it attained 30.2 years. Because of the cumulative effect of the baby boom, this trend was reversed during the 1950-1960 decade, and for the first time the median age declined, to 29.5 in 1960.

The effect upon the age structure of this fertility upsurge is summarized in the following table:

Stage of the Life Cycle	Percentage Distribution of Population 1960	1950	1880
Childhood (0-8 years)	19.9	18.0	24.4
Youth (9-17 years)	16.4	13.2	19.4
Adulthood (18-64 years)	55.0	60.6	52.8
Old Age (65 and older)	8.7	8.2	3.4

Between 1950 and 1960, the proportion of elderly persons increased mostly as a result of the aging of population associated with fertility decline before 1940. Thus, between 1950 and 1960, there was a simultaneous increase in the proportion of youngsters and oldsters, with a compensating decline in the proportion of adults.

As noted in the discussion of distributional trends, the population of nearly half the counties in the country dropped both in the 1950's and the 1940's. These losses of population have been produced by heavy outmigration

31

of people. Such migration is selective of age groups and where it has been sudden or prolonged has resulted in severe distortion of the age structure of many affected counties. The highest rates of outmigration occur among people between 18 and 30 years of age. If a county is exposed to such outmigration over a period of time it becomes heavily weighted with middle-aged or elderly persons. The median age of the population rises and with the departure of so many young parents and potential parents the number of very young children declines. This phenomenon has occurred in hundreds of small and medium-sized counties. No summary data have yet been compiled on the subject but an example will illustrate the point.

In Mills County, Texas, a completely agricultural county in central Texas, the median age of the population in 1940 was lower than the median for the United States as a whole (27.7 years compared with 29.0). Between 1940 and 1960 the population of Mills County declined by 44 percent as the result of heavy outmigration stemming from extensive adjustments in the organization of farming. In consequence, the median age in the County soared to 44.6 years by 1960 and was 15 years higher than the U.S. average which rose only to 29.5 years. The number of young adults in the county who are 20-29 years old is now less than half as large as the number of persons 50-59 years and is even considerably smaller than the number of elderly people 70-79 years old. Needless to say, such a relationship in the size of the different age groups of the population is strikingly different from that which prevails in almost any urban or growing area. With the loss of potential or actual young parents, the number of children under 5 years old in Mills County is now smaller than the group 5-9 years old which in turn is smaller than the number 10-14. This is a new situation for this county and for the many similar counties that exist.

In the most advanced cases of prolonged or severe outmigration, the distortion of the age structure has increased the proportion of older persons and decreased the proportion of young married couples to the point where deaths now exceed births. A sprinkling of such counties began to appear in the mid and late 1950's in States like Missouri, Kansas, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Texas. That the abnormal excess of deaths over births is caused by the odd age structure of the counties rather than by low fertility or high mortality can readily be demonstrated by applying the age-by-age birth and death rates of the United States to the population of such a county. In 1959, in the Nation as a whole, the crude birth rate per 1,000 total population was 24.1 and the crude death rate 9.4. Thus there were more than 2 and ½ times more births than deaths nationally. However, in Daviess County, Missouri, which is a Corn Belt area with a long history of outmovement, the same age-by-age birth and death rates applied to the 1960 county population would produce a crude birth rate of only 16.6 and a crude death rate of 18.6. Deaths would exceed births by about ⅛ even though family size and health conditions were normal. Under these conditions it is not surprising that there actually are more deaths now in this county than there are births.

It should be emphasized that the great majority of counties that declined in population in the 1950's are rural and predominantly agricultural. The rapid agricultural adjustments that are taking place are by no means finished. The number of counties losing some population through outmigration because of agricultural changes is not likely to increase much if any over the present high levels. But, counties in which outmigration becomes so pronounced as to create a condition producing more deaths than births are likely to increase substantially in the coming decade.

2. **Color Composition.** Between 1950 and 1960, the Negro population increased from 15.0 to 18.9 million, a gain of 25 percent compared with an increase of 18 percent for the entire population. The larger rate of Negro growth resulted from a marked decrease in Negro death rates accompanied by continued high fertility rates.

Migration as well as rapid natural increase caused particular parts of the Nation to tend to gain large increments of Negro population, especially industrial centers in the Northwest, Midwest, and California. For example, the increase in Negro population in selected States was as follows:

State	Amount of Population Increase	Percent Increase 1950-1960
New York	499,320	54
California	421,689	91
Illinois	391,490	61
Michigan	275,285	62
Ohio	273,025	53
Pennsylvania	214,265	34
New Jersey	196,310	62
Indiana	95,107	55

Source: 1960 Census of Population (12).

In sharp contrast, three States in the South experienced substantial Negro population decline, and most of the others had slow rates of growth (table 8). Florida, Texas, and Louisiana, where substantial metropolitanization of Negroes occurred, are exceptions, as were Delaware and Maryland, which are as much northern as southern in character.

Most of the growth of Negro population in metropolitan areas accrued to the central cities. Since central cities were almost stationary in their total growth, this meant that there was a sharp rise in the proportion of the population of these central cities that is nonwhite. For example, the following central cities had more than 20 percent of their population nonwhite in 1960:

	Percent Nonwhite 1960
Washington	53.9
Atlanta	38.3
New Orleans	37.2
Memphis	37.0
Baltimore	34.8
Detroit	28.9
Cleveland	28.6
St. Louis	28.6
Philadelphia	26.4
Chicago	22.9
Houston	22.9
Cincinnati	21.6

Source: 1960 Census of Population (12).

Table 8

NEGRO POPULATION AND PERCENT NEGRO, 1960, AND PERCENT CHANGE IN NEGRO POPULATION, 1950-1960

Geographic Division and State	Negro Population 1960	Percent Negro	Percent Change 1950-1960
U. S. Total	18,871,831	10.5	25.5
NEW ENGLAND	243,363	2.3	70.3
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	2,785,136	8.2	48.5
New York	1,417,511	8.4	54.4
New Jersey	514,875	8.5	61.6
Pennsylvania	852,750	7.5	33.6
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	2,884,969	8.0	59.9
Ohio	786,097	8.1	53.2
Indiana	269,275	5.8	54.6
Illinois	1,037,470	10.3	60.6
Michigan	717,581	9.2	62.2
Wisconsin	74,546	1.9	164.5
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	561,068	3.6	32.2
SOUTH ATLANTIC	5,844,565	22.5	14.7
Delaware	60,688	13.6	39.2
Maryland	518,410	16.7	34.3
District of Columbia	411,737	53.9	46.6
Virginia	816,258	20.6	11.2
West Virginia	89,378	4.8	−22.2
North Carolina	1,116,021	24.5	6.6
South Carolina	829,291	34.8	0.9
Georgia	1,122,596	28.5	5.6
Florida	880,186	17.8	45.9
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	2,698,839	22.4	.01
Kentucky	215,949	7.1	6.9
Tennessee	586,876	16.5	10.6
Alabama	980,271	30.0	0.1
Mississippi	915,743	42.0	− 7.2
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	2,768,203	16.3	13.8
Arkansas	388,787	21.8	− 8.9
Louisiana	1,039,207	31.9	17.8
Oklahoma	153,084	6.6	5.2
Texas	1,187,125	12.4	21.5
MOUNTAIN	123,242	1.8	85.5
PACIFIC	962,446	4.5	88.5[1]
Washington	48,738	1.7	58.8
Oregon	18,133	1.0	57.3
California	883,861	5.6	91.2
Alaska	6,771	3.0	(NA)
Hawaii	4,943	0.8	(NA)

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[1] Excluding Alaska and Hawaii.

Source: 1960 Census of Population (12).

It is not unlikely that, within 15 years the nonwhite population will be in a majority in many of these cities, unless there is a substantial change (1) in the differential rates of reproduction of white and nonwhite populations, (2) in the tendency for nonwhite population to be segregated within the central city, or (3) in the city boundaries.

Nonwhite groups in the United States other than Negroes are as yet a small fraction of the total population — less than one percent — but are increasing at very high rates.

Group*	1960	1950	Percent Change
Indian	508,675	370,788	37.2
Japanese	260,059	141,768	83.4
Chinese	198,958	117,629	69.1
Filipino	106,426	61,636	72.7
All other	75,045	21,226	253.6

*48 States only. 1950 data for Indian and "All Other" adjusted to be comparable with 1960.

The American Indian population now numbers more than one-half million, the highest number ever counted. It is thought that the identification of Indians in the 1960 Census was improved by the self-enumeration features of that census. The Japanese and Chinese groups have grown in part from the immigration of brides, many of them married to American soldiers. Data for Hawaii are not shown here, but Hawaii ranks as the only State in which the white population is a minority group.

3. **Sex Composition.** Between 1950 and 1960 the sex ratio (males per 100 females) declined from 98.6 to 97.1 or by 1.5 ratio points. This is the second decade during which women have outnumbered men; all censuses before 1950 had shown a predominance of males. This change is associated principally with differential mortality. At all ages women enjoy lower mortality rates than men. Other factors are a declining sex ratio in the composition of immigrants, an increase in the proportion of the population at older ages, and the dying out of older generations of foreign born in which males were a substantial majority. The trend toward lower sex ratios has been underway since 1910. If the current level of fertility persists, it will tend to level off in the next 10-20 years unless the sex differential in mortality widens. However, a decline in the birth rate could tend to depress the sex ratio further, because of the greater number of males than females among newborn infants.

Until recently, the predominance of females among the population was an urban phenomenon confined largely to the more industrial and commercial regions of the Nation. By 1960, however, it had spread to such an extent that now only a few western and plains States with large ranching, mining, Indian, or military populations have a majority of males. These States are:

State	Sex Ratio, 1960
Alaska	132.3
Hawaii	114.8
Nevada	107.1
Wyoming	104.9

North Dakota	104.5
Montana	103.8
Idaho	102.9
South Dakota	102.4
New Mexico	101.8
Arizona	101.2
Washington	101.2

4. **Marital Status.** Between 1950 and 1960 there was a leveling off of the tendency toward earlier marriage, which was such a dramatic change between 1940 and 1950. Although the median age at marriage drifted downward slightly after 1950, the change was not great and toward the end of the decade appeared to be reversing itself and rising a little. The "marriage boom" appeared to have reached its peak about 1955-57, and since that date the further tendency toward teen-age marriage has been halted. As a result the percentage increase in the number of married couples was almost identical with the percentage increase in the population 14 years and over.

	Median Age at First Marriage	
	Male	Female
1960	22.8	20.3
1955	22.6	20.2
1950	22.8	20.3
1940	24.3	21.5

Source: Current Population Reports, table D (9).

However, there has been a continuation of the tendency for widowed, divorced, and single older persons to be married. For example, the proportion of males 45-64 years of age who are married increased from 1950 to 1960 by a greater number of points than during the 60 years from 1890 to 1950.

The tendency for a higher proportion of the Negro population to have broken marriages by separation or divorce persists, but the differential seems to have diminished by a significant amount since 1950.

5. **Education.** The already favorable rates of school attendance among the population under 25 years of age improved substantially in the last decade. Between ages 6 and 15 school attendance now is almost 100 percent. Most of the gain came in attendance rates for ages 16 to 21, and reflects a greatly heightened interest in completing high school and attending college. The following summary of attendance rates for the older age groups shows the change that has taken place:

	Percent Enrolled		Percentage-Point
Age	1957-59	1950-52	Change
16 Years	88.4	80.6	7.8
17 Years	73.5	65.2	8.3
18 Years	42.8	35.8	7.0
19 Years	29.3	20.6	8.7
20 Years	23.0	16.8	6.2
21 Years	16.6	12.1	4.5
22 Years	10.5	7.4	3.1
23 Years	8.4	6.4	2.0
24 Years	7.6	4.7	2.9

Source: Current Population Reports, table A (8).

Despite the fact that there have been substantial improvements in the school attendance rates of the nonwhite population, the proportion of nonwhite children and youth attending high school and college still is below that for the white population. This color differential has shrunk most dramatically during the past decade, especially for ages 14-19 years. It is still large for the years of college enrollment.

Age	Percent Enrolled in School, 1957-1959 Nonwhite	White
14-15 Years	93.9	97.9
16-17 Years	76.3	83.8
18-19 Years	33.6	37.3
20-21 Years	11.6	19.9

Source: Current Population Reports, table 3 (8).

As a result of improved school attendance over many decades, the general level of education of the adult population is rising steadily. The median years of school completed by persons 25 years of age or over for the last three decades is as follows:

1960	10.6	1950	9.3	1940	8.6

It is expected that by 1970 the median will be 12.0 years of education. The proportion of adults with a 4-year college education now is about 8 percent. The Nation is passing an educational landmark, in that persons who hold the bachelor's degree (8 percent) now (1962) slightly outnumber the "functional illiterates" (persons with 0-4 years of schooling).

The regional difference in educational attainment between the South and the rest of the Nation has not been narrowed. Data from the 1960 Census indicate that the median years of school completed by adults in the South had risen only 1.0 years since 1950, whereas the median of the Nation as a whole rose 1.3 years. The North Central Region in particular and the Northeastern Region moved up closer to the level of the Western Region where educational attainment is highest, but in the process they pulled further away from similarity with the South. Attainment levels in the South have failed to keep pace with the Nation as a whole despite the heavy movement of Negroes of low average education out of the South and into the North and West. Because these statistics represent the entire adult population of 25 years or over, they still partly reflect old differences in educational opportunities and attitudes.

Median Years of School Completed — Persons 25 and Over

Area	**1960**	**1950**	**Increase**
U.S.	10.6	9.3	1.3
Northeast	10.7	9.6	1.1
North Central	10.7	9.4	1.3
South	9.6	8.6	1.0
West	12.0	11.3	.7

Source: 1960 Census of Population, table 105 (15), and
1950 Census of Population, table 67 (7).

Among the major residence groups, urban people are the best educated. This is a traditional and widely-observed fact. Urban adults averaged 11.1

years of school in 1960 compared with 9.5 for rural nonfarm and 8.8 for rural farm. Less widely appreciated, however, is the fact that the lead of urban people over rural people in average educational attainment has widened rather than narrowed. The median years of school completed by urban adults (25 years old and over) was .9 year higher in 1960 than in 1950, whereas the median for the rural-nonfarm population rose by .7 year and that of rural-farm people by only .4 year. The rate of improvement in the farm population has lagged despite the large-scale exodus of Negroes from the farms to nonfarm areas. Negro farm people average three years less schooling than white farm people. Therefore, other things being equal, their heavy outmigration should have raised the average of education among farm people and retarded it among nonfarm people.

Median Years of School Completed — Persons 25 and Over

Residence	1960	1950	Increase
Urban	11.1	10.2	.9
Rural Nonfarm	9.5	8.8	.7
Rural Farm	8.8	8.4	.4

However, the continued low level of formal education among farm adults is partly the result of the heavy outmigration of young people from the farm population — both white and nonwhite alike — and of the unique age distribution that the outmigration has produced. Figures on school enrollment show that at the typical high school ages of 16 and 17 years, the proportion of farm children in school (81.8 percent) is now actually just as high as the proportion of urban children enrolled (82.0 percent). The difficulty is that the majority of well-educated farm youth leave the farm by the time they are 20 years old. Thus, the adult farm population is heavily weighted with middle-aged and older people who in their day received less education than does the younger generation. This partly accounts for the depressed average level of education of the farm population as compared with that of urban people. Furthermore, during the 1950's the rate of early outmigration by farm youth increased. This had the effect of raising the already high average age of the adult farm population and partly explains the pronounced lag in improvement of the average level of education of farm people at a time when enrollment rates of high-school age farm children have caught up with the rest of the country.

6. **Family and Household.** At the 1960 census the comparability of family and household statistics with those of previous years was impaired by changing the unit of study from the "dwelling unit" to the "housing unit", but in general it can be said that the number of households and families is now rising moderately rapidly because of renewed population growth. Even larger increases are in prospect due to the fact that the children born during the first years of the "baby boom" are now beginning to marry in substantial numbers. Soon the pace of family formation will reach unprecedented dimensions. High levels of prosperity and the large volume of new home construction have had the effect of causing fewer families to live in shared quarters, or to be cramped into inadequate space. Greater security in older age is permitting a larger share of elderly couples to retain their households, and widows or widowers commonly occupy an apartment alone rather than living with a child.

The average size of family in 1960 (3.68 persons) was slightly higher than in 1950 (3.54). This resulted from continued high fertility levels, which offset the growth of single, widowed, or divorced persons who live alone or with friends, rather than with relatives.

7. **Economic charactertistics.** Since 1950 there has been a slight lowering of the labor force participation rate for males 14 years of age and over (from 78.7 percent to 77.4) due primarily to greater college attendance and earlier retirement. This has been offset by a greater participation rate for females (from 28.9 to 34.5), so that the rate for both sexes combined did not change much between 1950 and 1960. Increased employment by women is not usually related to hardship. It is more a general trend, with an emphasis on women returning to work in early middle age after bearing children and rearing them to a responsible age. During the past decade a series of economic recessions has gradually accumulated a sizeable body of unemployed persons. This has been aggravated since 1959 by the annual entry of an unusually large number of young people into the labor force from school. Between April 1959 and April 1962, the number of youth 18 and 19 years old in the labor force grew by half a million. Hereafter, nearly each passing June will witness an ever-increasing number of new entrants. The extent to which these will be absorbed is one of the major questions which the events of the next two decades will answer.

During the last 10 years the occupational composition has shifted steadily in the direction of reducing unskilled labor to a minor part of the work force, and enlarging white collar work — especially professional and clerical employment. The percentage of workers doing white collar work rose from 37 percent in 1950 to 45 percent in 1962. One of the most dramatic changes has been the great improvement of the occupational position of Negroes. Between 1950 and 1962 the number of Negro men employed in all white collar occupations doubled and the number of Negro women working in clerical and sales jobs tripled. Simultaneously, the number of Negroes working as laborers declined.

Average family income levels rose by 84 percent over-all between 1949 and 1959; and by about 50 percent taking into account the changing purchasing power of the dollar. There has been a substantial shrinkage in the proportion of families that live at the poverty line or below, and an increase in "middle class" families that can live comfortably. For example, in 1949, 29 percent of all families had less than $2,000 of money income and only 17 percent received from $5,000 to $10,000. By 1959, these percentages were more than reversed as only 13 percent of the families had incomes of less than $2,000 and 43 percent received from $5,000 to $10,000. Income gains have been made by all population groups but families receiving low incomes are still heavily concentrated among farm families and nonwhite families. Families headed by farm operators or farm laborers made up only 8 percent of all families having employed heads in 1960, but such farm-employed families comprise 39 percent of the families with employed heads in which total income is less than $2,000. Only 9 percent of all families are nonwhite, yet these families make up 25 percent of all families receiving less than $2,000 income. There is some overlap between the two groups mentioned in that some families are both farm employed and nonwhite. However, it can be said with confidence that farm employed and/or nonwhite families, which together make up not more than 15 percent of all families, comprise at least one-half of the families whose income is less than $2,000 annually.

The median income of all families in 1959 was $5,660. In terms of constant (1959) dollars, this represented an increase of $1,899 in the decade. Because of fluctuations in business conditions, the trend has been irregularly upward, with most of the improvement coming in the early and late years of the decade. The nonwhite population gained in income at about the same rate as the white and at the end of the decade median nonwhite family income was still little more than half that for white families (13).

Comparison of 1959 income data with those of 1949 from the census provide an interesting contrast in regional trends with those for education. In both characteristics — income and education — the West is the highest and the South lowest. However, whereas the non-West as a whole was narrowing its education differential with the West during the decade, this was not true of income. The skilled nature of typical jobs in the West, coupled with high wage and salary levels, has provided an economic climate in which absolute dollar gains in family income continue to outstrip the rest of the country.

Median Family Income (Dollars)

Area	1959	1949	Increase	Percent Change
U.S.	5,660	3,073	2,587	84
Northeast	6,191	3,365	2,826	84
North Central	5,892	3,277	2,615	80
South	4,465	2,248	2,217	99
West	6,348	3,430	2,918	85

Source: 1960 Census of Population, table 106 (15), and
1950 Census of Population, table 85 (7).

Furthermore, the percentage increases in median family income in the West have also exceeded those in the North. In the South, the relative growth of family incomes has been somewhat faster (99 percent from 1949-1959 compared with 85 percent in the West). However, average money income levels in the South were so far behind in 1949 that absolute gains from Southern families remain behind those for other regions.

II.

CAUSES OF BASIC POPULATION TRENDS

A. Fertility, Mortality, and Immigration

In November of 1945, a group of competent, well-known demographers gathered in Washington to forecast the number of births that would occur in the United States in postwar years. After a discussion of all the evidence and speculation available relating to age cohorts, marriage rates, parity distributions, and other factors affecting fertility performance, it was agreed that not even under the highest fertility assumptions would the number of births in the postwar period reach 3,000,000 in any year. Fortunately for the reputations of the committee members the forecasts were not published, for in no year since World War II, has the number of births proven to be as low as 3,000,000. This story illustrates how completely unexpected, indeed astonishing, was the post-war baby boom which continues unabated today.

With nearly 41,000,000 children having been born during the 1950's it is no wonder that the population has increased so rapidly. This is about 8,750,000 more children than were born in the 1940's. By contrast, the number of deaths in the 1950's (15,650,000) was only 1,000,000 higher than the number in the 1940's. The absolute increase in the population has been so great from the combination of increased birth rate and decreasing death rate that one can safely say that at least 40 percent of all the people who have ever lived in the United States since its colonial settlement are alive today.

Until recently the tendency by many demographers has been to attribute the increase of births to a making up of births deferred during past years, to an increase in the proportion of the population that marries, to a decrease in age of marriage, and to a borrowing of births from the future. There seemed to be a reluctance to admit the possibility that an increase in the average completed size of family might be occurring. All of the factors mentioned above that were used to explain away the increase in births without an increase in family size are valid to some extent. But the birth boom has now continued so long — 20 years — that we need no longer speculate about whether an increase in completed fertility of women will result. The data are available and they show clearly that the cohorts of women now approaching the end of the childbearing years have borne substantially more children than those who completed their childbearing 5 to 10 years ago (**14**). The principal mechanism of this change has been a marked rise in the proportion of women having three and four children and a striking decline of the number having none or one. But there is also evidence that the women passing through the peak of their childbearing period during the 1950's will show a rise in the proportion having 5, 6, 7, or more children, as compared with those who bore children in the 1930's and 1940's. To this extent, a partial return to the large family system has occurred — and in the form of a voluntary return to such a system, considering the widespread knowledge of family limitation practices.

The decrease in age at marriage has been accompanied by a shortened length of generation which has served to stimulate growth. It is not simply the completed size of family that determines ultimate population growth but rather at what age parents bear their children. Thus, for example, a society in which mothers averaged bearing their children at age 25 would produce four generations in a century whereas one in which children were born at an average maternal age of 30 would produce only three and one-third generations per century. Among white women born between 1930 and 1934, the average age at which they bore their third child (including a liberal allowance for those yet to be born) was about 26.0 years. By contrast, women born between 1910 and 1919 who had three or more children bore their third child at an average age of 29.8 years. Thus the three-child family of today, while regarded as a modest-sized family, has a measurably greater impact on population growth than did the average three-child family of 20 to 30 years ago. The reduction in the median age of mothers at births of all children (regardless of birth order) is less than that for third or other order children because of the fact that the average number of children born per mother has been increasing. However, women born from 1930 to 1934 will show a median age at birth of all children nearly two years younger than that observed among women born from 1910 to 1919 even if the 1930-1934 cohort bears 50 percent more children per woman than did the 1910-1919 cohort.

41

Table 9

WOMEN BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN, UNITED STATES, 1959 & 1950

Year and Age of Women	Women Ever Married								Children Ever Born Per 1,000 Women
	Percent by Number of Children Ever Born								
	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5 and 6	7 or more	
1959									
15-44 Years	100.0	14.8	19.7	27.0	18.8	9.9	7.0	2.7	1,762
30-34 Years	100.0	9.8	14.6	28.6	22.7	12.9	8.6	2.9	2,447
45-49 Years	100.0	18.1	20.6	24.5	15.9	8.9	6.9	5.2	2,214
1950									
15-44 Years	100.0	22.8	26.6	24.7	12.5	6.1	4.7	2.7	1,395
30-34 Years	100.0	17.3	23.4	28.6	15.5	7.4	5.4	2.4	1,871
45-49 Years	100.0	20.4	19.8	21.7	13.8	8.7	8.4	7.2	2,292

Source: Current Population Reports, table 1 (**14**).

As has been noted often, the increased fertility has been most marked among urban couples, where fertility had been very low in the prewar years. The narrowing of urban and farm fertility differentials has continued during the 1950's, but the gap between them has by no means been closed. In August 1959 the number of children ever born per 1,000 women then in the childbearing period (aged 15 to 44 years) was 1,629 for urban women and 2,298 for rural-farm women/[6]. This represented an increase of 36 percent since 1950 in the rate for urban women but only 11 percent for rural-farm women (see table 9).

The role that health factors have played in the birth boom is not unimportant. In particular, the reduction by half of the formerly high rate of childless marriage is thought to be due principally to reduction of involuntary sterility rather than reduction of voluntary childlessness. But for the basic causes of the birth boom one must look to sociological answers. Much research has been undertaken, but the answers thus far tend not to be much different from those based on common sense reasoning. It has been verified that a complex of factors is operating, involving both a major change in the economic climate permissive of childbearing and a reorientation of cultural values which has encouraged it. The increase has taken place despite the concurrent presence of three trends thought to be clearly inimical to fertility, namely, the rise in educational attainment, the large-scale entry of married women into the labor force, and the increase in urbanization.

Changes in mortality levels have been less unexpected or newsworthy than those in fertility. Nonetheless, they have been important. In general, over-all mortality rates have decreased steadily except for the interruption caused by the effects of the so-called "Asian flu" epidemics in the late 1950's, and improvements have been observed in all age groups. If the age-specific death rates of 1950 had prevailed all through the following decade, approximately 1,000,000 more deaths would have occurred in the period than actually took place.

Between 1950 and 1959 the average expectation of life at birth rose from 68.4 years to 69.7. Typically, mortality rates have improved most among classes of the population where they were worst; for example, the expectation of life for nonwhite population groups has been rising more rapidly than that of the white population. However, a notable and somewhat perplexing exception to this trend is the widening difference in the expectation of life for males and females. Under 1940 conditions, expectation of life at birth for females was 4.4 years longer than for males (65.2 years vs. 60.8), but by 1959 this difference had grown to 6.5 years (73.0 years vs. 66.5). The principal cause of this effect is the worsening position of males to females in respect to heart disease and cancer.

Although it is seldom used, the median expectation of life at birth is probably superior to the traditional mean expectation as an expression of the life probabilities inherent in current mortality conditions. Because the age at which a person dies is weighted in the mean calculation, the high mortality for infants greatly affects the mean, causing it to be lower than the median. Under 1959 mortality rates the mean expectation of life in the United States at birth was 69.7 years, but the median expectation — to which half of the children born might expect to live — was about 74 years, or four years longer than the mean. For white females the median was 78 years. At the pace at which mortality rates are declining it seems eminently safe to say that there are already cohorts of white women of adult age in which half of the original cohort will survive to 80 years of age.

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[6]/Standardized for age.

B. Immigration and Migration

Immigration in the United States has never reassumed the magnitude — either proportionate or absolute — that it had in the pre-World War I era. Its importance is still substantial, however, and should not be overlooked in evaluating the sources of growth of the Nation. From July 1, 1950, to July 1, 1960, a net of 3,000,000 civilians entered the country. They accounted directly for about 10 percent of the Nation's population increase. However, their impact on population growth does not cease with their immigration, for the great majority of immigrants are young adults or children who contribute to further growth by bearing children in later years. Net immigration in the 1950's was nearly 50 percent greater than the figure of 2,020,000 during the previous decade. The war years of the 1940's cut greatly into the levels of immigration during that decade but created the conditions for a steady flow of refugees and military brides to augment the more normal flow of immigrants in the 1950's. The rise of net immigration in the 1950's was just as important a source of increase in national population growth as was the decline in mortality rates. Net immigration tends to vary more from year to year than do births and deaths because of changes in legislation or in the state of world affairs (such as the Hungarian and Cuban Revolutions). On the average it is likely to retain its relative importance in the components of U.S. population changes in the present decade.

All but a minor fraction of the distributional changes noted above are created by migration streams. Fertility and mortality rates determine the over-all growth, but interregional differences in rates of natural increase have now shrunk to a fraction of their former size. For this reason, they could not possibly account for the shifts of population toward the West, the Gulf Coast, the metropolitan centers, the nonmetropolitan urban places, the suburbs, and into communities of particular types. Moreover, birth rates in these rapidly-growing places sometimes are no higher than in the areas where population growth is slow (farm areas, rural South, etc.). Hence, if any two communities, A and B, are growing at differential rates, the researcher should look first for a migration differential rather than a natural increase differential, between them. In interpreting the trends of Section I, therefore, it should be presupposed that there is a net flow of outmigration from most places that did not grow at the rate of 18.5 percent or more between 1950 and 1960 and a net flow of immigration to most places that grew faster than 18.5 percent. The extent of deviation from the average rate of growth may be taken as a crude indication of the probable extent of net inmigration and outmigration.

C. Patterns of Regional Economic Growth

The population flows that have been described above are not arbitrary movements without relation to trends in economic growth. All regions and metropolises where growth has been extraordinarily rapid have simultaneously undergone industrial and commercial expansion. The Gulf Coast, Florida, southern Arizona, and California's coast and valley are outstanding examples. Areas of shrinking economy have been areas of population stagnation or

44

decline. The decline in employment in the coal industry, the mechanization of farms, and the elimination of submarginal farms, and the shift of industries out of old industrial centers (such as the southward movement of the textile and paper industries) are examples. The process is more than a simple cause-and-effect one, however, because the loss of units of "basic" industry has a disproportionate effect due to the lowered demand for local services, and because some new industries and new commercial activities are entering the same communities where old ones are dying or moving. Population growth brings with its demands for additional service, and this stimulates economic growth. Hence, although it is difficult to disentangle the "cause-or-effect" aspect of population and economic trends, there is a high and persistent correlation between them, both spatially and temporally.

To support this general assertion, the rate of change in manufacturing employment, 1954-58, was correlated with the rate of population change, 1950-1960, for those SMSA's for which data are available, by economic regions. This was done in two ways, once as a simple correlation between percent change in population 1950-60 (variable x) and percent change in manufacturing employment (variable y), and once as a "partial" correlation, holding constant the degree of industrialization already attained, expressed as percent of the labor force employed in manufacturing in 1950 (variable z). The results are as follows:

	r_{xy}	$r_{xy.z}$
Total: 135 SMSA's	.70	.63
Region I	.64	.29
Region II	−.38	−.58
Region III	−.60	−.18
Region V	.47	.49
Region VII	.60	.63
Region VIII	.13	.08
Region IX	.89	.86
Region X, XI, XII	.60	.47
Region XIII	.85	.86

In the United States as a whole, there was a moderately close relationship between the rate of industrial employment and the rate of population change. In the faster growing regions the tendency for the places that experienced a substantial growth in manufacturing employment to experience a rapid population growth also was especially strong. In all regions except three the correlation is high and positive. Only in the heavily industrialized areas of the Lower Great Lakes and the interior Northeast (Regions II and III), and in the Old South (where all SMSA's grew rapidly regardless of character) was the correlation negative or low.

D. Patterns of Urban-Rural Economic Equilibrium

In addition to the specific decline in the number of farms and farm people, there have been other economic changes that have affected the balance between urban and rural settlement. One that is visibly obvious in many sections of the country is the decline in the vitality of small rural trading centers. This has been undoubtedly fostered by the decline in retail business from farmers and by the growing concentration of processing, marketing, and service facilities for agriculture in larger centers of urban size[7]. The rural-urban balance has also been affected by the fact that both mining and lumber operations — the two principal rural industries other than farming — have been declining in over-all manpower needs. Changes in these activities are often sudden and produce some of the most vivid examples of stranded communities.

On the other side of the coin, certain industries of a more traditionally urban character have been decentralizing into rural areas or into small cities accessible to rural people. For example, the wearing apparel industry has migrated to a substantial degree from the larger cities of the North to more rural districts of the South. Rural areas have also furnished the sites for many military installations (discussed separately below) and research facilities, both of which are increasingly prominent features of our economy. Some of these facilities require rural, thinly settled surroundings because of noxious, dangerous, or secretive aspects of their work.

Recreation industries are also steadily altering the character of the rural economy. One particular feature of the current great expansion in businesses based on use of leisure time is the rapid increase in, and dispersion of, dams. Dams are usually built for an avowed purpose other than recreation — such as flood control, reclamation, navigation, or power — but almost without exception they soon become important as recreational centers. Some of the most traditionally landlocked States now have large expanses of reservoir water surface and an ardent clientele of water sportsmen and vacationists. Dams, State parks, and other recreational facilities provide many new opportunities for employment, and especially for the founding of small trade and service businesses. They tend to attract urban people to rural areas to run such businesses and thus diversify both the rural economy and the rural population. Such areas, if sufficiently large and attractive, also become centers for retirement of older people. Perhaps the best example of the transformation of an interior rural county through the building of a dam is Camden County, Missouri, where the population grew by 16 percent during the 1950's as the result of businesses and retirement homes fostered by the Bagnell Dam and its reservoir, the Lake of the Ozarks. The rural economy and population had declined in this county for 50 years before the recent reversal.

In summary, the rural population has fallen as a proportion of the total population, due to the overriding effects of the decline in agricultural employment and, to a lesser extent, mining and lumbering. However, other activities of a nonagricultural nature are on the increase in many rural districts and tend either to increase the similarity to urban activities of the work performed by rural people or to draw urban people into rural communities.

E. Metropolitan Decentralization

From studies of the 1940-1950 decade, we know that metropolitan growth patterns included a dramatic flowing into the suburban ring of economic activities of a great variety (shopping centers, factories, service establishments, and even administrative, research, and record-keeping activities). The census data are too new to have been analyzed yet, but one takes no great risk in stating that this peripheral drift of economic activity has been accelerated during the 1950-1960 decade. Also, although the data are not yet at hand to test the proposition, it seems quite plausible from the 1940-50 trends to expect that the characteristics of the suburban population are nearly like the national average for all urban population than previously. One should expect the suburbs of today to have a larger proportion of lower and lower-middle socio-economic groups, more Negroes, and more blue collar workers than previously. This arises from the diversification of the economic base of suburbs and from the transition of suburbanization from an esoteric to a mass residential adjustment. Nevertheless, in comparison with suburbs, many central cities will look like major "social problem" populations or "depressed areas" in the Nation. In addition to being demographically stagnant, they have a disproportionate concentration of poor, less educated, lower-occupation people, because they are ports of entry for low income migrants. Because of their near-zero growth, they have lost and are losing better educated and higher income citizens through flight to the suburbs. Many a central city tends to see its inflowing population as an increased burden on its welfare, police, educational and judicial systems, and its outflowing population as a large net financial loss in tax-paying power.

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[7] It is encouraging to note that two large-scale studies of factors associated with population change in small population centers are now being undertaken by rural sociologists (James Tarver of Oklahoma and Glenn Fuguitt of Wisconsin). We are badly in need of ecological studies of small and medium-size communities.

F. Military Installations and Defense Activity

Among the forces producing widespread change in the distribution of the American population, one that is sometimes overlooked or else underrated is the tremendous growth in the number and size of military installations. The reference is to military bases **per se** rather than to private manufacturing and research complexes working on military projects. Military population growth is especially important in any consideration of rural growth because of the tendency for military populations to be located disproportionately in rural territory. Furthermore, because military bases often require substantial amounts of lands, they are frequently located on land that was not previously thickly settled. The introduction of military personnel and associated civilian employees greatly increases population density, and military bases are thus commonly associated with the most spectacular examples of rapid population growth.

Between 1950 and 1960 the number of military personnel stationed within the United States rose by more than 750,000, or by 76 percent. Of the Armed Forces, the proportion living in rural territory was 44 percent compared with only 30 percent of the civilian population. Under current practices many military personnel have wives and children who follow them about. This amplifies the demographic effect of a military base on a locality, especially where large numbers of the families must live off base.

In addition to the Armed Forces themselves, many military installations employ large numbers of civilians, and this is particularly true of certain types common to rural areas, such as storage and maintenance depots, and testing grounds. Military bases typically induce commuting from long distances, perhaps because of publicity, good wages, the number of jobs often available, and relative lack of discriminatory practices. As a result, some of them form the major payroll for sizeable numbers of surrounding rural counties. The number of civilians employed directly by the Department of Defense in the

United States increased by more than 300,000 or by 40 percent, from 1950 to 1960. During the 1950-60 decade there were about 60 nonmetropolitan rural counties in the Nation that experienced high rates of population increase due substantially, or even entirely, to military developments. (All data derived from published sources.)

Military bases have varied effects on the areas in which they are located. Those employing numbers of highly-trained professional people, civilian or military, may greatly upgrade the level of services and the general attractiveness of an area. Some, such as ammunition depots, employ relatively few military or professional level civilians and thus simply provide more unskilled and semi-skilled jobs for local residents. Other types of bases and camps having large numbers of young, unmarried, transient personnel may create many social problems for the community.

The action taken by the government in the Fall of 1961 to enlarge the military establishment indicates that over the intermediate future, military location decisions will continue to have significant effects on population distribution.

G. The Continuing Agricultural Revolution[8]

The decline in the number of farms and the number of farm people has received much publicity in recent years, particularly during periods when agricultural policy has been a prominent political issue. Behind the rapid decline in the number of people engaged directly in farming looms the effect of the tremendous revolution in the methods and economics of agriculture — a revolution that has by no means been completed. The following list summarizes those aspects of recent trends within and outside of agriculture that have resulted in a loss of farm population.

1. The difficulties faced by young men in getting started in farming today, in view of the decline in number of farms available because of consolidation trends, and in the light of the high capital resources required for an adequate acreage and equipment to operate it.
2. The low income received from many farm units, especially in comparison with the wages and salaries available from non-farm jobs.
3. The attraction of city life and nonfarm occupations to younger farm people, associated with higher educational attainment, compulsory military service, short work hours, increased exposure to nonfarm life, and the aspirations of minority racial groups for a better life.
4. A decline in the amount of manpower needed in farming caused by mechanization and by withdrawal of land from production through participation in various Government programs.
5. A decline in the specific need for tenant farmers and full-time resident hired hands brought about by changing technology and other factors.

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[8] For a fuller discussion of recent adjustments in the farm and other rural population see Chapter 10 of Smith, **Adjustments in Agriculture (5)**.

6. The take-over or use-conversion of farm land by suburbanization, highways, reservoirs, industrial facilities, military bases, recreational facilities, sustained-yield forestry, and other nonfarm uses.
7. Discouragement of older or small-to-medium scale farmers from inability to obtain labor of the number and kind desired or at feasible wages.
8. The increasing burden of real estate taxation.
9. Persistence in some areas of such older rural disadvantages as the lack of good roads, adequate schools, and other community facilities.

The effect of this imposing combination of negative factors is so strong that only in a few scattered areas has the farm population increased or remained stationary. Where reclamation projects or well-water irrigation have permitted a rapid intensification of land use — as in the Columbia Basin of Washington or the High Plains of Texas — there has been no shortage of aspiring younger farmers to compete for the land. This would seem to indicate that although farming has lost prestige for some as an occupation, there are still many people who would like to go into it where the conditions are promising.

One of the most dramatic changes in the farm population is the change by race. Using the data on color of farm operators obtained in the 1959 Census of Agriculture, one finds that the number of nonwhite farmers (97 percent of whom are Negroes) fell from 581,000 in 1950 to 315,000 in 1959, a drop of nearly one-half[9]. The pace of this loss accelerated during the course of the decade, with the rate of decline rising from 18 percent in the years 1950-54 to 35 percent in the years 1955 to 1959. The rate and amount of loss was especially severe in the intensive tenant-organized farming of the Mississippi Delta. Here, in the counties comprising Subregion 76, Negro farmers dropped from 73,000 to 31,000 just in the five years from the Autumn of 1954 to the Autumn of 1959. In this area, the loss of Negro farmers is inseparably linked with the fact that the overwhelming majority of them have been cotton share tenants. The rapid shift to completely mechanized cotton operations has permitted the abandonment by landlords of the tenant system in favor of a unified operation employing hired farm workers. This is corroborated by the rapid increase in regular hired workers shown in the 1959 Census (employed at least 150 days). In Subregion 76 they rose from 26,000 in 1954 to 41,000 in 1959. Many of these workers are undoubtedly the former tenants in a new job relationship to the landlords. However, the increased labor efficiency of the new system is so great that for every three or four tenant farmers dropped in the subregion as a whole, only one additional wage worker has been hired. Some of the wage workers continue to live on the plantation and continue to be counted as farm residents, but many others are reported to have severed their housing relationships with employers and to be commuting to work from town or other nonfarm places.

H. The Structure of Business

The structure of American business has been shifting rapidly during the past decade, with strong emphasis upon mergers and centralization of business control into fewer but larger and more complex units. There is no evidence that this trend will not continue in the near future. It is too early yet to undertake the research necessary to study the effect this has had upon population trends; all of the data are not available. However, it appears to be a plausible hypothesis that American business is focused more and more on the metropolitan centers, with the result that opportunities and growth are channelled there. Many corporations are known to advertise only in the newspapers of cities recognized as metropolitan by the Bureau of Budget and to concentrate their purchasing in such places.

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[9] Number on old, comparable definition. There were 286,000 nonwhite farmers in 1959 on the new definition

I. Expansion of Higher Education

The provision of college and professional postgraduate training to the oncoming waves of youth is causing a rapid expansion in the physical plant and staff size in colleges and universities all over the Nation. In 1950 an estimated 2.2 million persons were enrolled in colleges and professional schools. By 1960 this had risen to 3.6 million. An increase of 65 percent in 10 years is a most substantial gain. It can only have the effect of causing "college towns" and the college community in large cities to grow rapidly. But the end is not yet in sight. A revised set of projections released by the U.S. Census Bureau shows another doubling within the 1960-70 decade, so that there will be a grand total of 7.1 million college and professional students at the time the 1970 census is taken. For a decade or so thereafter, however, the rate of growth will be much slower because the period of most rapid increase in the birth rate will already have been reflected during the 1960's.

J. Drift Toward Warmer Climates

With few exceptions, those portions of the Nation which have severe winters are experiencing below-average growth, and almost the entire zone of the country that is blessed with mild winters is growing rapidly. For example, those economic subregions which have an average January minimum temperature of less than 10 degrees showed an over-all population increase of 10 percent from 1950-1960, whereas the subregions having an average January minimum of 40 degrees or more had a population growth of 45 percent. In part, this development is being created by the building of "retirement colonies" by elderly people moving to Florida, the entire Gulf of Mexico coast, and into Arizona and California. Social Security first made a mass move of this type possible two decades ago, and steadily it is swelling into a major social movement. Canadians as well as U.S. citizens join in it. Probably the movement will double and redouble in volume in the next two decades. Even inland places, such as the Sandhills of Carolina and Georgia (which are dry as well as mild), the Ozarks, and the Appalachian Uplands are attracting folks entering retirement and desiring or needing a change of climate.

But this drift toward warmer climates appears to be more than just an older-folks phenomenon. Winter brings hazards and inconveniences which many people of all ages now seek to avoid, and which the heightened national prosperity makes it possible to avoid. Whether the population is leading business or following it is not certain. Yet it is clear that much light industry, such as electronics, missiles, research, and appliance fabrication and assembly is moving into these southern zones also. Air conditioning is making it easier for the newcomers to have the equivalent of a cool summer and a warm winter. Also, certain costs of living are lower. As employers become more congestionconscious and more aware of the desires and values of their employees, it may be expected that more industry than ever before will be located with climate as one of the variables given serious consideration.

K. Mining

One of the most common economic causes of population change, especially of decrease, is change in mining activity. Considerable attention has been focused on the problems of eastern areas suffering from unemployment and partial depopulation due to declines in coal mining. However, in other parts of the Nation, especially the Great Plains and the West, developments in mineral industry are often associated with rapid population growth rather than decline. One may generalize that developments in mining, as with military activities, are likely to be rather sudden and far-reaching, whether they produce population growth or decline.

In the Eastern States alone, about 80 counties suffered absolute losses of population from 1940-1950 stemming primarily from the decline in coal mining employment. This has resulted both from mechanization of mines and from falling production caused by competition of other fuels or exhaustion of workable reserves. These absolute population losses frequently amounted to 15 to 20 percent, desplte the high rates of natural increase traditional among coal miners. The bulk of such counties are concentrated in a belt extending southwestward from west central Pennsylvania to northeastern Tennessee. Elsewhere east of the Mississippi, about 30 other counties declined in population size from difficulties affecting other mineral industries, especially metals and oil and gas.

Declines in mining activity contributed greatly to population loss in about 45 counties west of the Mississippi. On the other hand, in the Great Plains and Mountain States, there were about 60 counties that experienced net immigration of people because of discoveries or development of mineral resources. Oil and uranium account for a majority of these cases. Such counties are often not far distant from those where mining is in decline, and there are no large blocks of counties suffering unrelieved distress from mining unemployment such as that of the East. The demographic effects of mining trends are of particular reference to rural interests because mining is the most rural of all nonagricultural industries, aside from the logging and milling of wood. (At the 1950 Census, 64 percent of all mining workers were rural residents.) Thus it is rural communities that are most typically affected by the volatile conditions of both growth and decline that currently prevail in mineral industries.

L. Styles and Levels of Living

In a discussion of the causes of population trends there would seem to be a legitimate place for a paragraph on styles and levels of living. Styles may be partially subject to manipulation and levels may to a great extent be dependent on the economy, but they appear also to exert an independent influence of their own.

Living in the suburbs is unquestionably a necessity for many young metropolitan families simply because of the lack of sufficient older housing or space for housing within the city. But the flight to the suburbs probably has in it a component of style or desire not related solely to need. The post - World War II marriage and birth boom came after more than 15 years of low volume of housing construction. Millions of people were living in houses or apartments which were far behind the newest buildings in style, variety, setting, and modernity of equipment. Surely this factor alone, combined with a high level of earning, stimulated in part the exodus from the city proper.

The greatly increased prevalence of retirement plans and the increased adequacy of such plans, coupled with the rapidly growing number of elderly people, has caused the movement of hundreds of thousands of persons to new homes. In Florida, the most notable examples of growth from retirement, there were roughly 300,000 more persons aged 65 and over in 1960 than would have been expected from the population 55 and over in 1950, making allowance for death. The movement of older persons is often related to the drift to warmer climates, but it is the rising, assured income of such persons that makes the move possible.

In addition to improved ability to retire, there has been a general improvement in the amount of vacation time available to the labor force and a decline in the proportion of jobs at which a long work week is required. Those circumstances, reinforced by the generally high level of wages and employment have provided the means for the great expansion of recreation businesses everywhere and of specialized resort areas. Many counties can be identified in which recreation businesses have been a major source of population growth. Recreation and retirement areas often develop in the same locations and both show the demographic consequences of rising levels of living.

Another type of population movement that is partially rooted in changes in style and levels of living is the movement of young people from rural areas. Quite aside from considerations of economic necessity, there are large numbers of rural youth who have a preference to live in an urban environment. This seems to be especially true of girls and of village residents. For example, a study recently conducted by Michigan State University and the U.S. Department of Agriculture showed that 40 percent of the girl high school seniors in four rural counties preferred an urban place to live, and that 63 percent of the village girls had such a preference. Corresponding figures for boys were 27 percent and 50 percent. (**2**)

M. Changes in the Social and Economic Status of Negroes

The public notice that has attended the efforts of the Negro population towards improved social and economic status has been so widespread and of such central political importance that there is no need to elaborate this point. Demographically, these efforts have resulted in a heavy migration of Negroes to cities in all regions, and a migration into the Northern and Western States. Within the Census South region, the Negro population increased by only 11 percent, with much of the increase taking place in peripheral areas of only a quasi-Southern character, such as the District of Columbia, the Florida Peninsula, Maryland, and Delaware. (See table 8.) In strong contrast, the Negro population in the rest of the United States grew by 55 percent. The non-Southern portion of the Negro population now amounts to 40 percent of the whole, as compared to 32 percent in 1950. The heavy migration has produced some extraordinarily distorted age distributions in the sending and receiving populations. The areas of outmigration show very small proportions of Negroes in the ages 20 to 39, except in the cities, but the very high fertility of the population has maintained a disproportionately large number of young children in the population. Movement out of rural areas to cities has been so great that in hardly more than a generation the Negro population has been transformed from the most agricultural group in the American population to one of the most urban.

Aside from factors affecting the residential distribution of Negroes, the efforts being made to raise the educational and occupational levels and opportunities of this part of the population are being reflected in rapidly changing educational, occupational, and income characteristics of the group.

III.

CONCLUSION

A judgment of the principal conclusions to be drawn from the trends reported in this study inevitably depends upon one's interests and point of view.

To the person concerned with metropolitan developments, the most important trend may be the rapid concentration of the majority of the Nation's people into the metropolitan areas. In the decade of the 1950's, the percentage of people living in metropolitan territory rose from 56 to 63, as 84 percent of all population growth took place in the less than 9 percent of our land area that lies within the standard metropolitan areas. Ample national physical space and the existence of strategic and moral imperatives which assert the desirability of decentralization have not been sufficient factors to overcome other economic and social forces that foster metropolitan concentration.

On the other hand, **within** the metropolitan areas a substantial dispersal or decentralization of settlement has been the salient feature to students of urban society. The growth of suburbs has not only been rapid, it has usually been accomplished in part at the expense of the central city. Few metropolitan central cities have been able to increase or even retain their population size without annexations of territory. (Indeed, this is also true of scores of non-metropolitan places.) Despite the huge growth of suburban population, the density of settlement per square mile in the urban fringes of metropolitan cities decreased, because the new suburbs have been built at a lower density than the old ones. Of equal importance to the redistribution of population within the metropolitan areas has been the continued rapid increase of the Negro population within large central cities. This increase, when accompanied by a loss to the suburbs of white population, has substantially altered the income, educational, and occupational structure of the population of numerous central cities.

To the person with rural interests, the greatest impression from current trends may be the conclusion that demographic changes in rural communities have never been more radically different from those in urban communities — metropolitan or nonmetropolitan — than they are today. This is not to contradict the fact that in many material aspects of life rural and urban communities are more similar than they were a decade ago. For example, rural areas are closing the gap in availability or possession of electricity and electrical appliances, telephones, indoor running water and bathroom facilities, automobiles, and hard-surfaced roads. However, never before have there been so many rural areas declining in population at a time when most urban areas are growing so rapidly. Never before have there been such differences in the age distribution of farm and nonfarm populations as there are now, nor such disparities in the directions in which the age distributions are changing. Never has the number of deaths approached or exceeded the number of births in rural counties as it is beginning to do in some areas today, in contrast to the large natural increase of population being recorded in the cities. The difference between rural and urban population trends is such that in many rural areas the problem is to find economic uses for land that will retard depopulation, whereas in urban areas the problem is often how to choose between competing demands for land use, caused by high population growth.

If one's interest is focused on national growth or on manpower potentials, the most significant trend of recent years may be the maintenance of a relatively high fertility rate which has been the principal source of rapid population growth. About 73,000 000 children were born from 1940 to 1960. As these children, themselves, grow up, the number of potential parents will increase to the point that in 1975 there should be about 50 percent more women in the peak of the childbearing years than there are today. Thus, unless the rate of fertility should decline substantially, the number of children to be born in the late 1960's and the 1970's, and the amount of further population increase resulting will greatly overshadow the births and increase of the last two decades.

In addition to the trends in distribution, composition, and growth of population summarized above, changes are evident in the characteristics of population such as education, income, and occupation. In some instances they have operated to homogenize the population and lessen the social and economic disparities between groups. In others they have served to widen differences. In either case, the changes in the basic demography of the population have been and continue to be exceptionally rapid. Their implications are far reaching, and not to be ignored.

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COMMERCIAL FARMING AND RELATED INSTITUTIONS

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FARMING in the United States may almost be said to rank among the wonders of the world. It is amazing that approximately 10% of the population can furnish food, fiber, and clothing so well to Americans. One might paraphrase Winston Churchill and say "Never in history have so many been provided for so well by so few." This is truly one of the success stories of America. Through freeing the bulk of society from the task of working the land in order to feed themselves, commercial farming has provided a necessary base for development in this country. Thus agriculture has made significant contributions to national goals.

It is a paradox that this great success story of our time should also occupy the headlines as one of the great problems of our time. It is paradoxical in view of these contributions that agriculture today frequently receives very poor press treatment and the farmer is very concerned about his image among the consuming public who is in fact the greatest recipient of his progress. Thus, in the midst of great agricultural achievement, we have a problem of abundance. This problem is reflected in the situation of the industry as a whole and in the position of the individual families who comprise it. This abundance occurs from two points of view.

First, the most frequently treated problem is the abundance of certain products. These products, such as wheat, have overshot the mark within the framework of government programs.

The second problem relates to an abundance of people in agriculture, some of whom have not been able to make the adjustments required by commercial farming and find themselves without the needed resources to have a full-time job in this dynamic industry. These problems of abundance frequently lead to a gap between reality and the expectations of the individual families involved.

I rebel at using the normal comparisons of farm and nonfarm income for many factors make the comparison difficult. Yet it is clear that there are a great many low income families in agriculture and the income position of agriculture has suffered during the 50s relative to the nonfarming sector. This is true in spite of the increase in income of farmers from nonfarm sources. Aggregate farm income between 1950-59 rose 4 billion dollars while costs rose 7 billion dollars, thus resulting in a lower agriculture income of 3 billion dollars. Table 1 shows these relationships between farm and nonfarm income. The trend is more meaningful than the absolute comparison. This failure to keep pace with other sectors of the economy can lead to frustration and disillusionment with agriculture as a way of life and if continued over time can threaten the health of the industry. There has always been a wide range of income in agriculture, but the gap between the high third and the low third has been widening and promises to become even more marked because of the unequal ability of different groups to make the adjustments which are called for. In 1959 a study indicated that the high income one-third of farmers received 70% of the income in Illinois.

My assignment today is to discuss commercial farming and its implications for institutions which serve it. I mention the over-all industry and the successes and problems of agriculture only as a backdrop for this discussion, as

TABLE 1
INCOME PER CAPITA FOR FARM AND NONFARM POPULATION, UNITED STATES, 1935-59

	FARM POPULATION				
	From Agriculture				
Year	Net Cash Income, Inventory Change, Home Consumption, Value of Dwelling, Farm Wages	Government Payments/[a]	From Non-Farm Sources	Total Income From All Sources/[b]	Nonfarm Population From All Sources/[b]
1935	$ 167	$ 15	$ 62	$ 244	$ 517
1940	153	21	88	262	685
1945	528	26	166	720	1,312
1950	616	10	212	838	1,585
1951	741	10	232	983	1,763
1952	701	10	251	962	1,849
1953	658	8	265	931	1,902
1954	644	10	262	916	1,852
1955	593	9	281	883	1,979
1956	576	21	300	897	2,074
1957	586	41	306	933	2,121
1958	694	46	299	1,039	2,082
1959	615	29	321	965	2,216

[a]/Direct payments to farmers but not including government expenditures which improve farm product prices or farmers' services.

[b]/Represents returns to labor, management, and owned capital.

Source: USDA, **Farm Income Situation,** July 1960, p. 38.

one cannot adequately treat this segment of our economy without looking at the relationship to agriculture as a whole and the relationship of agriculture as a whole to the national trends and problems. For today the agricultural industry is inextricably linked to the economy as a whole through its dependence for services, the demand for products, for off-farm employment, and in fact, through the whole way of life of farm people.

Some Trends in Commercial Farming

The cost-price squeeze has been a dominant factor in commercial farming in recent years. Prices have decreased and costs have increased, thus placing great pressure for adjustment on the commercial farm. Although adjustments have been significant, the ratio between the value of output and total costs has increased. Table II shows this relationship.

TABLE II

Total gross farm income and production expenses, United States, 1940-44 to 1960.

Period	Total Gross Farm Income	Production Expenses: Actual	Production Expenses: Percentage of Gross Income
	Million Dollars	Million Dollars	Percent
1940-44	18,549	9,610	52
1945-49	31,053	16,268	52
1950-54	35,746	21,418	60
1955-59	35,883	23,877	67
1960	38,327	26,369	69

Source: **The Farm Income Situation,** July 1961, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

In order to maintain a uniform system of reference, I will discuss commercial farming within the framework of the census classifications. I would like to discuss the six classes listed as commercial farms, however, in two segments. The first three classes which have a gross income of over $10,000 I shall call "really commercial", and the next three classes which have a gross income below $10,000 I shall call "barely commercial." The first thing that strikes one in examining these data is the dominance of the class I through 3 farms in the production picture.

For example, in 1959 in Illinois, 62,000 farms in these three classes constituted 2/5ths of all farms but occupied more than 3/5ths of the total farm land, and accounted for 78% of the total sales. These three classes of farms were operated by men who are considerably younger than the average farmer today and who manage large investments. Thus it is these relatively few farms which represent "really commercial" agriculture in Illinois and exemplify full-fledged agricultural firms at their best. This is the backbone of our agriculture and the group which has been primarily able to increase the volume of farm output 29% over a 1947-49 base.

The lower segment of the commercial farm category also indicated the same trends in increased output and the increased use of resources. However, an important distinction between them is that the larger units are increasing in numbers while there is a decreasing number of smaller units. For example, the census indicates farms between 100-179 acres decreased 24.7% between 1954-59 in Illinois and farms between 260-499 acres increased 32.8% during the same period.

I find it useful to divide commercial farming into these two groupings for discussion here because the problems faced by the individuals involved and the ultimate solution to them may be different. In the first three categories of commercial farms the individuals have a firm base in agriculture and have the primary problem of increasing the efficiency with which their plant is managed and operated and adjusted to changing cost-price ratios. The families in the lower three categories of commercial farming, on the other hand, face a basic decision as to whether this is their best alternative as a means of achieving the goals and objectives of family members. Whether they choose to stay in farming and thus face the problem of acquiring more resources or choose to leave farming in order to market their time more effectively, the adjustment faced by the people in these "barely commercial" groups is more drastic. That this is true is indicated by the fact that the principal decrease in farm numbers is occurring in these lower classes.

I think it is appropriate to spend a few moments analyzing some of the other trends which are occurring in commercial agriculture. First, let us look at the family farm. The family farm, although quite a nebulous term, has been looked upon as a thing of great value in America, both from the standpoint of its effectiveness as a producing unit and as an important American institution. What is happening to it with these increases in farm size and output? In this connection I will use the frequently used definition of a family farm as those with less than 1½ man years of hired labor.

Between 1954 and 1959 family sized farms, according to this definition, declined from approximately 3,100,000 to approximately 2,300,000 in the United States. The decline in numbers occurred in the farms with less than $10,000 gross sales as there was a substantial increase in the number of family farms with gross sales of over $10,000. As a matter of interest, the decrease in the number of family size farms between 1949 and 59 and the decrease for these same years in larger than family size farms was essentially the same. Family size farms decreased 35% in numbers between these years and the larger than family size farms by 36%. These data are reported in Table III.

TABLE III

Commercial farms: Number of family size and larger than family size, United States, for specified years[1].

Commercial Farms	1949	1954	1959[2]	Change from 1949 to 1959
	(Thousands of Farms)			Percent
Family Size:				
Gross sales $10,000 and over	334	440	680	104 +
Gross sales less than $10,000	3,138	2,698	1,582	— 50
Total	3,472	3,138	2,262	— 35

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[1] Family size farms are those using 1.5 less man-year equivalent of hired labor.

[2] 1959 data are preliminary.

Larger than Family Size:				
Gross sales $10,000 and over	150	142	114	− 24
Gross sales less than $10,000	84	47	36	− 57
Total	234	189	150	− 36

Source: 1962 — Agricultural Outlook Chart Book, USDA, Table 8, Page 51.

Thus the make-up of the agricultural industry in its size distribution seems to be holding fairly constant when viewed in these broad categories, although all farms as a group have increased in size and in their gross sales. Thus the family size farm seems to be holding its own as an institution even though it is growing up in response to economic forces.

An interesting study was made of Farm Bureau Farm Management Service farms in Illinois to see whether there were large numbers of three-man farms when operator and family labor was included. Out of the 1,122 records, only 43 were three-man farms or larger. Since these record-keeping farms tend to be somewhat larger than typical, these data seem to corroborate the view that the farms with more than 1½ hired man years are in a very great minority.

In looking at the source of this increased agricultural abundance, we have already noted that the output has increased per farm but that fewer farmers are producing with the consequent increase in the acreage involved and an expansion of volume in each unit. This increase in over-all output seems to merit some further analysis. First of all, it appears to stem more from increased yield of crops and increased units of livestock than it does from increased feeding efficiency. Data from the U.S. Department of Agriculture indicates that there has been an increase in the average yield of feed grains per planted acre in the United States from .83 tons per acre in 1954 to 1.13 tons per acre in 1959. In looking at the feed conversion rates, only broilers show an increase during this same '54-59 period and in fact the feed conversion ratios in cattle, milk cows, and hogs show a slight decrease. Thus the increased production in feed grains has occurred from increased yield per acre, where the increase in output of mean has stemmed primarily from increased numbers along with a corollary increase in feed inputs.

In achieving these production levels several things of note occurred in the input area. Inputs over-all have remained fairly stable in recent years but the change within the total has been quite drastic. The most striking thing which continues to take place in the input mix is the continued substitution of capital for labor as well as the over-all increase in the capital employed in commercial farming ventures. The capital employed in agriculture, looking at farming as a whole, has increased because of the increasing cost of nearly all input factors, as well as the purchase of more inputs all along the line in addition to the substitution of capital for labor. The increased use of fertilizer has been quite marked, with an increase of 25% being indicated between 1950 and 1959. The quantity of purchased inputs has increased while the quantity of unpaid inputs, particularly operator and family labor, has gone down.

This substitution of capital for labor is pointed up by the fact that in 1940 almost 43% of total farm production expense could be attributed to labor while today labor accounts for only about 32% of all farm costs. The value of farm real estate has increased from approximately 33.6 billion in 1940 to over 125 billion in 1959. This represents an increase of over five times the 1940 base when taken to an individual farm basis. The real significance of this shift can be seen when one considers that in 1940 total production expenses were higher than the value of land and buildings, but in '59 the value of land and buildings had increased three times that of total production expense. Thus fixed costs have become increasingly important in the make-up of farm costs.

Another trend of importance in agriculture is the increased trend to specialization. Farmers have found it to their advantage to produce fewer products but in larger quantities. This is reflected in nearly every product. These producers who concentrate their interest become highly proficient in their specialty. This factor, coupled with the increased educational levels of farm operators in the United States, indicate the kind of challenge which institutions serving commercial agriculture must meet in providing leadership and assistance which are needed.

In summary, then, commercial agriculture is unrivaled in history in its productive efficiency and in its total levels of output per producer. These trends promise to continue to increase in the years ahead and the trends which have been mentioned, such as increased specialization, increased size of business, and increased use of capital through both mechanization and more total inputs, will continue to play dominant roles.

These recent trends have all been directed toward increasing output in an effort to make better use of inputs and to maintain income with generally narrower margins. Some farmers, faced with a declining net income, have doubtlessly been motivated to increase the over-all efficiency of their business and, in fact, move closer to the point of optimum operation. A great many farmers through this step experienced lower unit costs because of a better use of the fixed factors of production. However, if a farm is being operated in a profitable range, lower unit cost of production is a desirable but not a necessary factor in expansion. If the manager can maintain efficiency or even not lose too much, it still pays him to expand. So the word "increase" all along the line seems to typify agriculture in recent years. Of course population is also increasing at a rapid rate. The output increase has tended to keep pace with the population increase. This relationship of output to population and to price is shown in Figure 1.

Increased yield per acre as a result of improved technology and methods has been an important factor along with greater economies of scale that have enabled commercial farmers to weather the cost-price squeeze. But what of the future? Do we have on the horizon a great deal of new cost reducing techniques which could come into play to offset future squeezes on income? Can farms continue to expand and grow in volume so that with ever narrower margins, a reasonable return can be attained by farm operators?

I don't pretend to be able to answer these questions but there are several factors which indicate to me that in the Middlewest type of agriculture, the family farm type of commercial farm will continue to grow and adjust but hold its own. I would list several factors for this point of view.

The eye of the Master still seems to be an important factor in farming, particularly where livestock is concerned. Current price-cost ratios require

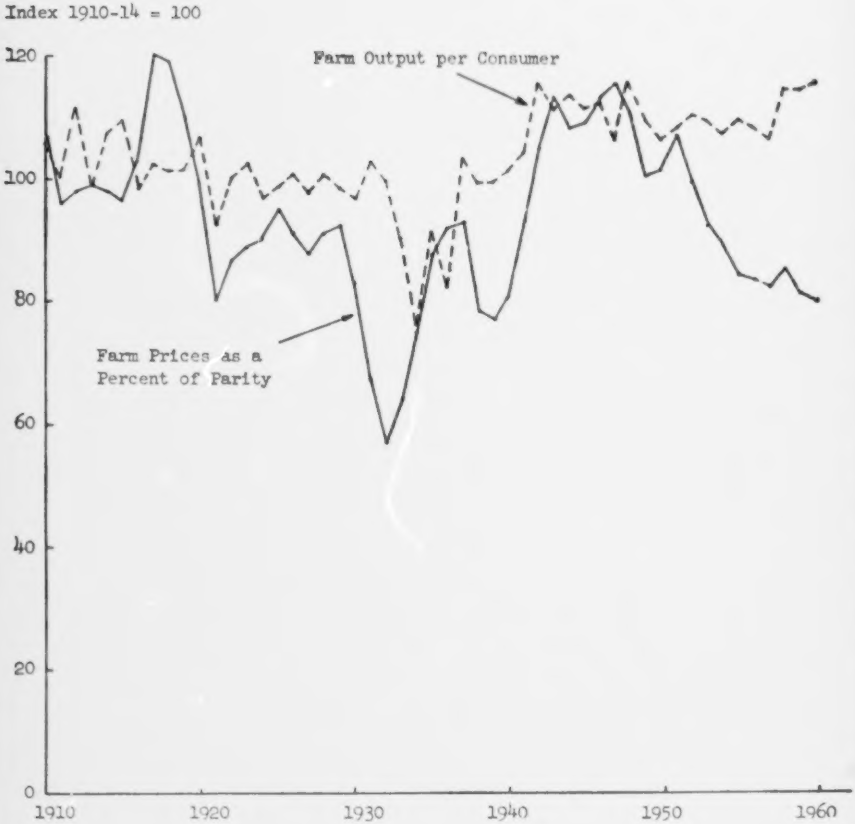

Figure 1. Farm Output per Consumer and Farm Prices as a Percent of Parity, U.S., 1910-60.

Source: Paper by L. H. Simerl, Extension Economist, University of Illinois, The Agricultural Situation and Farmers' Problems, AE. 3640, Department of Agricultural Economics.

62

good management and these farms seem able to compete on this basis as indicated by the contract farming trends. Research which I have seen from both Iowa and Illinois indicates that there is little advantage from a scale point of view to increasing size beyond that of the more adequate commercial farms as we know them today with our present equipment and technologies. In fact, some important diseconomies are encountered as size of operations increase beyond the family farm range. Finally the return to capital in large units has not been sufficient to attract large scale corporate investment capital from other alternatives.

Certainly great adjustments have taken place in the businesses of the really commercial group. The application of new technology has been rapid and a great many farms are apparently operating near the optimum size as dictated by circumstances. I personally do not see any unit cost reducing technologies looming on the horizon of the magnitude of commercial fertilizer. However, a USDA study indicated that if known technology were applied on farms today, the needs of the population to 1975 could be met within the current agricultural framework and the known technology. There is a great amount of knowledge which is being discovered daily and which a great many people are not yet using. There is room for progress in commercial agriculture. Minimum tillage, feed lot mechanization, and disease reduction are examples of areas where progress is likely to be made.

Those in the top three classes of the census farm classification will continue to strive to increase their efficiency as business firms in agriculture and those who lie outside this range will face increasingly the decision as to whether to embark on securing greatly added resources, change their occupation, or remain at income levels which lie considerably below those required to meet family expectations. This increasing output-decreasing price picture has placed severe tests on the ability of the individual manager to make adjustments in the business in order to offset this cost-price squeeze through achieving a higher level of over-all management and by so doing to achieve a more efficient mix of input factors and enterprises.

Therefore I would predict the continuance of these trends and that there is considerable stability in these commercial farm units of over $10,000 gross – the "really commercial" farms. The greatest adjustments in the future, in my opinion, will occur from accelerated change in the lower economic classes of agriculture. I believe these trends will accelerate as people who were able to hang on on inadequate units from the profitable war years reach retirement age.

The problems of the really commercial farmers is related to the progress made in adjustment problems of the underemployed farmers. As these people find more fruitful uses for their talents the trend will continue to dividing farm income between fewer people. I realize that one can raise the value judgment questions as to whether this trend is a desirable one. My purpose here is to simply point out the likelihood that will occur and the economic consequences. Finally, of course, agriculture prospers as the economy as a whole prospers and its income over time has been much less related to supply than to demand.

Over-all we still face nationally the adoption of a long run national policy for agriculture. At the time of writing this paper it appears the direction may be determined by a narrow margin. These national policies will set the framework in which the individual operates. This decision will be an overriding factor in the direction taken by agriculture.

As far as the individual unit is concerned, the availability of capital to these commercial farms and their skill as business managers will play dominant roles in the course the "really commercial" farms take, while the availability of employment off the farm will dominate the course of the "barely commercial" group, in my judgment.

I would be remiss in my responsibility in giving this thumbnail sketch of the situation in commercial agriculture if I did not also say a word about commercial farming communities.

Agriculture has for a great many years been an exporter of young men and women. Estimates indicate that considerably less than 10% of the boys and girls growing up in agriculture today will be able to find reasonably satisfactory farms on which to earn a living. This, of course, indicates the likelihood of a continued high migration from these areas.

Population data in the very best commercial farming regions in the state of Illinois indicate that the bulk of Illinois counties experienced a considerable loss of rural population between 1950 and 1960, although the movement of urban population into the rural areas around large cities blurs the picture to some degree. However, less than a third of Illinois counties indicated an increase in rural population. In fact, 15% of the counties in Illinois showed 96% of the increase in population in the state during this 10 years.

One reaches the conclusion very quickly that in order to have a vigorous and dynamic community it is highly desirable, if not essential, to have a balance between commercial farming and industrial employment. Even though agriculture is the creator of a great deal of employment in the various service industries and marketing industries which go hand in hand with it at the local level, areas which depend on agriculture alone tend to be characterized by an aging population and economic activity that lags other areas.

Commercial Farming Needs in Relation to Related Institutions

These trends which are taking place in commercial agriculture, as well as the type of commercial agriculture which we have today, hold real challenges for the institutions which attempt to provide educational or other information or services to the industry. In analyzing the situation one cannot but help reach the conclusion that we have made a great deal of progress in developing an efficient industry. It is important to individual producers, and in the long run to the nation as a whole, that this efficiency in production be continued in agriculture. Though I am not one who looks to the increasing population to put pressure on agricultural production in the near turn, it seems a likelihood as one looks further down the road. For example, population projections which I recently reviewed indicate that by the year 2000 the continent of Asia may have as great a population as the entire world does today. The geometric progression of population can be a startling thing as one looks further down the road. It is important that agricultural progress not lag that of the rest of the economy.

No, we cannot afford to let up on teaching efficient production in our agricultural firms, but in analyzing the changes occurring today one cannot help but reach the further conclusion that the way these various factors of production are put together into an efficient operating unit is becoming increasingly important. Therefore, in serving commercial agriculture, it seems important that more emphasis be placed in the areas of marketing, in management of the unit as a whole, and on developing an increasing understanding of the economic facts surrounding agriculture and their implications for agricultural policy. These things are critical to the success of the individual farm producer.

Of special concern to such organizations as the Extension Service is how to keep its services changing fast enough not only to keep pace with the kind of information needed by commercial agriculture, but actually to help lead the change. Two important factors seem to be very clear. The first is that the problems and the clientele served both call for greatly increased specialization on the part of such institutions attempting to serve commercial agriculture today. Though general county agents have an extremely critical part to play in developing programs and in following through in applying information in the action process, they must be further supplemented by specialized agents if the information presented is to be as specialized as required by a great many commercial producers.

This need to increase specialization of the teaching staff has resulted in several changes in extension organization and approaches. Specialized agents have been created in several states to work on a multi-county basis and in other states counties have actually been combined for extension purposes so that several counties operate as one big county, with a specialized staff.

The other factor which comes into sharp focus is that the breadth of the educational assistance needed is constantly increasing. Many of the areas call for resources which are not now available in the quantities needed in most colleges of agriculture. This is exemplified by the rural development program. The educational assistance needed for such an effort comes from a great many parts of an institution of higher learning. Meeting the educational needs of commercial agriculture and the associated community calls for a concern on the part of nearly all phases of a university and for mechanisms by which the county extension agent can effectively tap resources of the institution. These two problems clearly call for adjustments in the extension service programs and for mechanisms for securing specialized competence.

The development of this agricultural industry which I have described is, of course, no accident. Instead it is the result of an effective combination of research, education, and action programs. It is the result of effective teamwork between commercial interests, organizations of many kinds, and various institutions, with a concern for progress. The changing needs of commercial farmers and the setting in which they operate call for adjustments in the work of these organizations and institutions if they are to be of maximum help in the future. The diminishing significance of the city-limit sign and the increasing relationship between agriculture and the economy as a whole call for a closer working relationship between these various groups who render services and who strive for improvement of the community and the individuals in it. In recognition of the fact that many of the problems facing agriculture will not be solved within the confines of the individual unit, the unselfish dedication of these many groups toward the solution of these problems is as critical as assistance to the individuals involved.

Looking at the needs of commercial agriculture from a broader point of view, all organizations that are interested in agriculture have an important responsibility in developing the agricultural community as a place to live and as a place to make a living. This is especially important to the farm families who are in the lower economic classes of commercial agriculture. If they are to be able to raise their standard of living, many of them must look to supplemental income from off-farm employment. Too, it should be a concern of society that their resources and talents are not being put to their best use.

The young men and women who are leaving agriculture, since approximately 90% will not be able to farm, also have an especially important stake in the economic growth of rural areas through the development of a balanced economy.

From such development the community will be in a better position to obtain or maintain the needed institutions which are so important in developing the community as a place to live and to offer economic opportunity to supplement the agricultural industry in providing a way of making a living. This, of course, calls for the development of the resources of the community. It requires the analysis of their potential and for aiding and encouraging the management of industries which fit the resources available to choose rural communities for their location. This is work in which all of the people of the various communities can join. It is exemplified by the rural areas development program which is aimed at civic improvement and economic growth of these rural areas. Churches, schools, farm organizations, institutions of higher learning, and a great many commercial organizations can well join hands toward the common good in such an effort.

The area of education for rural youth should be of special concern to the members of this Association. Are we recognizing and preparing them for the future they will face? Data still indicate that advanced education for rural youth is lagging. We have recognized the fact that the bulk of rural young people will leave farming. Since a great many of them may do so with little training beyond high school, it is important to these young people that they have a good understanding of the employment opportunities outside of farming and of the various demands made by these industries on the people they employ. Though I feel increased vocational training must be made available, I'm not pleading for this to increase in the high schools.

These young men and women must have a broad base of understanding if they are to take their place as citizens in an urban dominated society and perhaps live and work in urban areas. I'm pleading for more emphasis in all organizations that work with rural youth, including the schools, to recognize these facts of life and to provide well grounded information to them regarding careers. Although my assignment is to talk of commercial farming, I can't resist the statement that the agricultural industry as a whole is a growing business. It needs the services and offers fine careers for a great many of these rural boys and girls in the associated agricultural businesses. This is true for people with college degrees and for those with less training as well. But these boys and girls must know of these opportunities and they must prepare themselves for them.

All of these organizations and groups can take a great deal of pride in their role in developing an agriculture which has been able to be such an important force in the world. It may be, in fact, one of our best competitive advantages as we meet the problems of the world today. As we have helped create this great agricultural plant, we must also accept responsibility in part for its continuing needs and problems. May we have the wisdom to serve it well!

THE RURAL NONFARM POPULATION

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I. Introduction

THE STUDY of the rural nonfarm population has been neglected. For this reason, information is limited on this segment of the population. We have been more inclined to work with farm people rather than with nonfarm rural people. The farm people have resented the newcomers, the nonfarm rural people. We have not had the incentive to improve the situation for nonfarm people. Part of this is the resistance to change or the failure to recognize that one of the consequences of economic progress is the changes in social structure of rural populations. Perhaps, today, the nonfarm rural people have more influence on farm people than the urban people.

Scientific and technological advances have wrought many changes in the American way of life — increased productivity in the industrial and agricultural segments of our economy, higher per capita income, greater mobility of the population and more means of mass communication. Nonfarming population and industrial developments spill out from cities in a tide; into new cities, into subdivisions, into villages, and into the open country.

During the past decade the greatest increases in population occurred in Standard Metropolitan areas outside the corporate limits of the major cities or in counties adjoining these areas, the so-called rural areas. The more rural a county and the farther the distance from the city, the greater the likelihood that the population has remained nearly stable or has declined.

Chart 1 graphically tells the story of what has been happening population-wise by place of residence. Since 1890 the percent of the nation's population residing in urban areas shows an uninterrupted upward growth. It surpassed the rural population about 1917. The reverse of this trend is shown by the rural category.

The automobile and dispersion of industry have contributed to the growth of suburbia and the rural nonfarm population. Under the multipronged assault of mechanization, mass communication, and industrialization, rural areas have changed — drastically in areas near large cities.

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*The authors have drawn upon a manuscript **The New Community** by Dr. Wade H. Andrews and J. Ross Eshleman soon to be published as a Research Bulletin by the Ohio State Agricultural Experiment Station for information in preparing this paper.

Young families and older urbanites have moved into rural areas more and more as electricity, all-weather roads, the school bus, and other developments made the conveniences of urban living and education readily available. The rural attraction became strong when the good qualities of open country could be coupled with the urban conveniences. As a result, the mixed income rural areas are more and more common.

Chart 2 shows the trend lines of the two categories of rural farm and rural nonfarm population. A review of selected state bulletins on populations shows these same trends in the states as in the whole country. The rural nonfarm grows in importance while the rural farm declines. If the trend, evident since 1930, continues, the rural nonfarm population will be even more dominant in the decades ahead.

It is significant that just after World War II the rural nonfarm population surpassed the farm population in numbers. At present there are nearly three rural nonfarm people to one farm person in the United States. In Ohio the ratio is about four to one and it is higher than that in some states. If we include only those with the major source of income from farming, then the ratio is 4-5 to 1 in the United States and 7 to 1 in Ohio.

Up to now, very little attention has been given to the nonfarm rural population. It has been treated as the heterogeneous group left after the urban and farm populations have been counted. There is a great need for education and research on this population group. Research has been done mostly on the rural farm group and not on the nonfarm rural group.

Many people living in the open country and villages are not rural in the sense that farming is a way of life for them nor is agriculture a major source of their income. The picture of the rural sector of our economy today is one of mixed income communities and of a heterogeneous population — people from varied backgrounds with different values, interest, and occupations.

II. Who Are These Rural Nonfarm Residents?

Rural nonfarm people have many faces and wear many hats occupationally. Aside from major cities it would be difficult to find a more heterogeneous segment of the nation's population. There are a number of ways to classify rural nonfarm people.

A. Location and Type of Work

The rural-nonfarm population is (1) a mixture of village residents, (2) open-country nonfarm residents, (3) highway "string" settlements, (4) military personnel, and (5) residents of institutions — (a) rural colleges, (b) prisons, (c) hospitals and other institutions . . . About 6 percent of the civilian workers in this group (rural-nonfarm workers engage in **gardening, farming, mining and construction** to a greater extent than **city workers;** but otherwise their **industrial distribution is very much like that of city people**[1].

B. Characteristics of Nonfarm Rural People

1. Nonfarm rural families in the United States tend to **have higher incomes** than farm families. In 1960 about 36 percent of the farm families

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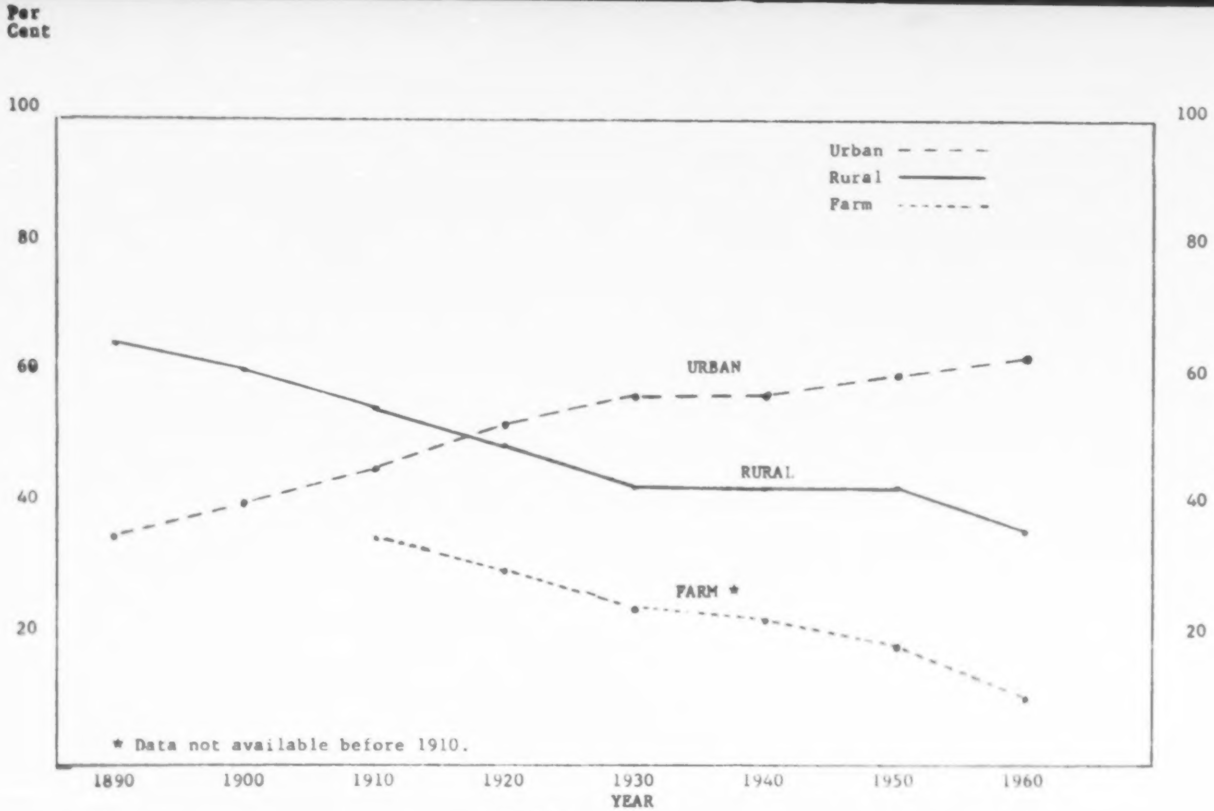
[1] Mervin G. Smith and Carlton F. Christian, **Adjustments in Agriculture — A National Basebook,** Iowa State University Press, 1961, Ames, Iowa, pp. 265-266.



* Data not available before 1910.

CHART 1. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF U. S. POPULATION BY RESIDENCE

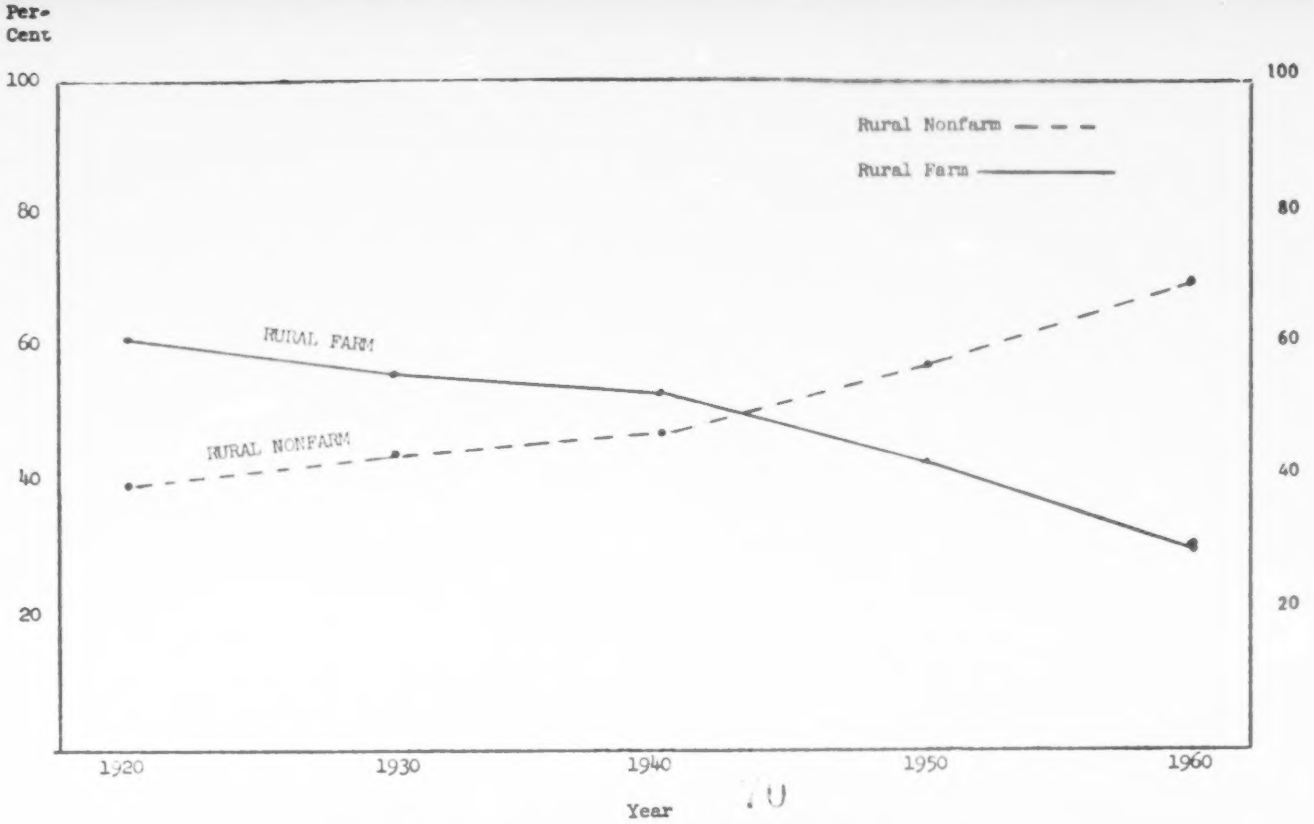


CHART 2. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. RURAL POPULATION

had less than $2,000 cash income per year while only 13 percent of the nonfarm rural families had less than $2,000 income.

2. The rural nonfarm family falls between the urban and farm family in terms of size. By residence the average size of family is: Urban, 3.55; rural nonfarm, 3.83; and rural farm, 4.07. In spite of the baby boom, the average U. S. family contains only 3.68 persons.

3. Rural nonfarm wives are more likely to be in the paid or hired labor force than are farm wives. The respective percentages in 1959 were 28 and 24. Almost one of every three urban wives, 32 percent, was employed outside of the home.

4. Generally rural nonfarm residents are younger than farm people.

5. The rural nonfarm people are better educated than farm people: the last census indicating 9.5 average years of education for rural nonfarm and 8.8 years for farm. The rural nonfarm would fall between the urban and the rural populations in amount of education.

C. Occupational Distribution

1. The Commuters into the Big Cities

Executives, professional men, craftsmen, semiskilled and unskilled laborers, and some of their wives drive 15 to 25 miles and some even 40 or 50 miles each way to an urban job. By ones and twos and in car pools they stream toward the city from open country and village.

Many are seeking a sort of Utopia. The convenience and facilities of urban life combined with country living without the accompanying cost.

2. Commuters to Industries Located in Rural Areas or Villages

Closely akin to the above category is the rural resident employed in a local plant, perhaps a sawmill, garment factory, paper mill, or small parts plant. There would be a smaller proportion of executives and professional men in this group. Semiskilled and unskilled laborers would be more numerous than in the big city commuter category.

Many of these workers were part-time or subsistence-type farmers a few years ago.

3. Service Type Personnel

These are the technicians, professionals, and others with special skills and knowledge who serve farm and nonfarm residents of rural areas. Examples would be the county extension agent, the soil conservation field man, the teacher, the minister, and the small business man. They are especially important in supplying services for rural society.

4. The Retired Rural Nonfarm Population

Numerically important is the village population, persons living in places of less than 2,500. Here the aged congregate and constitute a larger percentage of the population than in any other residential category.

As the economic functions of villages decline this elderly population must rely on outside sources of income. "Living out of the post office" is a phrase coined to apply to some elderly persons receiving Social Security and Old Age Assistance checks.

This concentration of the aged in villages would be particularly pertinent in areas losing population and where the young are moving out in counties with a stationary population and no large urban center.

Retired persons are also found more and more in the open country. The ease of securing modern conveniences has made it easier for aged persons to remain in rural areas. Also the cost of living is minimal in the rural setting.

It is not unusual to find in the local community retired persons with special skills and talents that are not being utilized.

5. **The Unemployed and the Underemployed**

Here we find persons who could be considered casualties of progress or technological advances and the mechanization of agriculture. They can be found anywhere bu especially in the upland or hilly sections of the nation. Their fathers operated subsistence-type farms which yielded satisfactory incomes three or four decades ago. Today these small units do not provide a satisfactory income. Many of these people now attempt to supplement their income from off-farm employment.

(a) Low income and underemployment are chronic problems of many rural areas with too many people for farm and off-farm job opportunities. The magnitude of this problem is emphasized when expressed in terms of man-years of idle labor. Total surplus labor or rural families in seven rural Ohio counties was estimated at almost 12,000 man-years of idle labor/[2]. As technology continues to advance rapidly in the next decade or two, more farms will become too small and more farm people will be underemployed unless they find other nonfarm employment.

(b) Another segment of this economically margin group could be called "stranded populations" – pockets of persons living in remote rural areas where the basis of the local economy – a natural resource such as coal, clay, or timber – has been exhausted. Usually they are unskilled or do not have marketable skills. A lack of capital and less than average education makes adjustment difficult for this segment of the rural nonfarm population.

(c) No doubt some of these families are found in the **subsistence** farming category as they eke out their existence in areas where land is cheap and plentiful.

(d) Not many urban unemployed people have moved back to rural areas in recent year. With less labor used in agriculture, little cost advantage to live in rural areas, and with unemployment insurance, the likelihood is not great that unemployed urban people will move to rural areas.

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[2]/Donald D. Steward, **Employment, Income and Resources of Rural Families in Southeastern Ohio,** Research Bulletin 886, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Wooster, Ohio.

72

OUR TOWN AND COUNTRY SOCIETY LOOKS AT ITSELF

III. Problems of the Rural Nonfarm Population

1. The **aged on relief, and other elderly people** with very limited incomes from retirement funds and Social Security are **not a dynamic segment** of the rural nonfarm population. Energy and incomewise they do not have as much to contribute as the younger commuter or service type personnel in the open country.

2. The majority of the underemployed and unemployed are unskilled or at best semiskilled. Though young enough to be in the labor force, they may have skills no longer needed, such as coal miners. Nor do they have the resources or the knowledge to embark on a retraining program on their own.

3. In economic terms they could be referred to as "cheap people." They have not received as many "inputs" of education, have not had as varied occupational experiences, as much travel, and broadly speaking, as much cultural opportunities as the usual urban resident of the same age.

The objectives of the Rural Areas Development Program, the Area Redevelopment Administration, and the Manpower Training Act are to shift some people from farm employment to nonfarm employment. A major way to improve rural life is to develop new jobs for these people in trades, services, and industry where they can earn higher incomes. It is hoped that public services and facilities can be developed in the community such as roads, hospitals, schools, power supplies, and water systems. This will mean more off-farm employment and a larger proportion of the rural population which is nonfarm. The ultimate objective for these programs is better living for rural people.

4. Conditions for conflict between newcomers and old-time residents are excellent in this no man's land between farm and city. Not only their value systems but differences in what is necessary for a "good life" provide fertile ground for community-wide conflict.

The ex-urbanite wishes to add conveniences, facilities, and services he has grown accustomed to in the city. These changes entail more taxes, levies, or bond issues. On the other hand the newcomer is often a commuter and does not want to spend much time himself in the community; he may want to hire professional services.

The older resident has always regarded the area as "a good place to live, and why change it." In many cases the older resident has a reduced income from a few years ago and he is likely to oppose new facilities because of their added cost.

School consolidation or a bond issue provides an opportunity for underlying differences to be brought to the surface.

5. Adding to the complexity of these problems are outmoded governmental units such as the township, county, and village. Interests and needs of people, both social and economic, do not change drastically at the corporation limits.

A usual unit of any of the above does not encompass enough territory, people, or wealth to deal with the multitude of problems. A shortage of competent, well-qualified officials compounds the problems.

In general, however, the more dense the rural population of an area, the larger proportion of nonfarm people, the higher the average income, and the more highly developed the community.

The growing number of people, their mobility, and the increasing complexity of problems necessitates a shift from informal arrangements to formal, contractual methods of conducting community affairs. There is a greater need for persons or organizations with specialized skills or training to perform certain jobs.

Continued growth in numbers and the mixing of people from various walks of life reduces the effectiveness of informal social controls such as gossip and ridicule. Tradition and the old established ways of living break down in the face of a growing, mobile population.

IV. A Look into the Future

1. The concentration of population in metropolitan areas will **continue** accompanied by a **flow of people into rural areas** — who want to live in the open country but who are not interested in commercial farming. Open country and village residents will contribute to the increase in the rural nonfarm population.

Philip M. Hauser writes that if present trends continue, about two-thirds of the nation's population will live in Standard Metropolitan Areas by 1975 — approximately 150 million people. Of the 53 million added to suburbia, 32 million would reside in what is now largely unincorporated open areas./3

2. The **distance** these people **can live from their place of employment** will **increase**. A continually improving highway system will reduce the time required to drive to a job in the city. The territory that a city can draw on for its labor force will expand as better highways interlace the nation.

3. Nonfarm rural people who move from urban areas are often disappointed to find the community lacking in many services and facilities. Could these people be encouraged to be active and even to take leadership roles in improving community life? The goals and objectives of many of these people are such that they should become catalysts in improving educational facilities, highways, local government, and other elements of rural life. Can rural leaders tap this desire of an upwardly mobile group to improve rural life?

4. On the other hand, some of the urban people moving to rural areas bring undesirable elements to the community. An understanding and awareness of this by community leaders could help minimize the undesirable factors.

5. Extension services and other groups interested in rural communities need much more information on the characteristics and desires of this heterogeneous rural nonfarm population.

6. Now that nonfarm rural people dominate in numbers the rural scene and will be more dominant in the future, they are having and will have more and more influence on rural life.

7. Growth, mixing of old and new, and mobility of the rural nonfarm population will continue.

3/Philip M. Hauser, "The Challenge of Tomorrow's Market", **Journal of Marketing,** 24: 4 - 5, 1959.

8. What can rural life leaders do to reduce conflict between the long-time residents and newcomers? Can they help this heterogeneous population in formulating solutions to their many problems? For example, can they modify the governmental structure so as to cope with modern conditions.

9. How can rural life leaders broaden the vision of urban and rural residents so they will see that town and country are more closely tied together than ever before? Zoning is just one area where citizens of town and country do not see the relationship between these two segments of the community. All of the nation's slums are not in cities.

10. The dynamic situation in terms of people and land use increases the need for greater **acceptance** of the **inevitability of change.** Wholehearted acceptance of this fact will help rural life leaders in their efforts to modify new conditions so rural-urban change is oriented to progress objectively rather than aimless drifting and chaos.

11. The well-being of future generations of rural people depends upon the vision of today's leaders! The rapidity of change increases the need for imaginative leadership to start with the up-to-date picture of the heterogeneous rural population.

SMALL TOWN, U. S. A.

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SMALL TOWN, U.S.A., has been extolled on the one hand and reviled on the other. The small town has been portrayed as the preserver and the last stronghold of the major value orientations which have been characteristic of America. At the same time, the small town has been eschewed as being so provincial as to be a distorter of the current value orientations of this country. Whatever the point of view, the small town has been an arena of concern for the last half century.

Nearly a generation ago, E. W. Burgess, in the editor's preface to a well known little book, wrote:

> To many the writing of a book upon the small town will seem to be a work supererogation. To them the facts about Main Street and its inhabitants are already only too well known. A childhood and youth of village life or even a casual visit suffices to provide them with all that is to be known about the small town.

It might be well to recall that in the same book the author observed in his preface that:

> Not long since, American civilization was a small-town civilization, but time has wrought great changes . . . Scattered over the length and breadth of the land are thousands of these small towns, some of them ultra-modern and others over a hundred years behind the times. But there are traits common to all of them which have been recognized from time immemorial . . ./1

1/Albert Blumenthal, **Small-Town Stuff** (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932), pp. IX and XV.

A quarter of a century earlier, **An American Town** by Williams and **Quaker Hill** by Wilson had appeared, and these were followed five years later by Sims' **A Hoosier Village.** In the meantime, Sinclair Lewis had produced a literary picture entitled **Main Street**. The more recent and perhaps more modern counterpart of these earlier works might be recounted in **The Little Community, Peyton Place, Plainville Fifteen Years Later,** and **Small Town in Mass Society.**

In between, rural sociology was emerging as both a descriptive and as an analytical science. Rural sociologists were jumping into the small town and village field all over the place. In 1918, Galpin published his monumental work entitled **The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community.** This was the beginning of a flood tide of important community studies. A mere cataloguing of important surnames in lieu of titles should be sufficient to indicate the attention accorded this field of study: Bell, Brunner, Douglass, Frame, Fry, Jenkins, Kolb, Kollmorgan, Landis, Leonard, Loomis, Lorge, Melvin, Miller, Morgan, Nelson, Sanderson, Smith, Taylor, West, and Zimmerman. This is sufficient for purposes at hand. Even with this listing, however, injustice has been done by the many omissions of important contributors because this cataloguing was produced from memory rather than from a careful and current review of the literature.

In the interim, radio entered the oral scene through the series of community profiles entitled, **The People Act**. And more recently television has come upon the visual scene by way of Robert Young's **Window on Main Street** and by way of Huntley and the story-picture cast simply as **The Land**. Hometown newspapers — large and small, dailies and weeklies — carry a constant stream of stories extolling the virtues, resourcefulness and ambitions as well as pointing up vexation, trials, troubles and tribulations of the citizens of small towns throughout America. Perhaps it shall ever be so, for the small town is an image and a nostalgia of an America which never was for many, for others a history of the good but slower days of old.

Problems of Definition and Classification

What is a small town? How is the small town to be defined for analytical purposes in order to separate it from something else? For the native New Yorker, perhaps, all other communities in the United States are small towns. To many of us who grew up on a farm in a considerable degree of a particular type of isolation, the town of 5,000 or the village of 2,500 was certainly a big town. Now the question might be raised — Is the small town a distinguishable and classifiable sociological and economic entity? Or, is it a simple statistical category on some sort of continuum, a scale of political size based on numbers alone?

Through all this concern, too little attention has been given to defining the small town for the purposes of this discussion Perhaps this is a case in which the attitude might be assumed of "Why define the small town, everybody knows what I am talking about anyway." In the present state of affairs, the small town is probably more of an image than a classificatory item for study. Nevertheless, some important work has been done on the problems of definition and classification. Duncan and Reiss have stated that

> Only a limited beginning has been made in developing a theory of community structure with systematic attention to size of community . . .

76

> Nevertheless . . . any investigation of differences among communities which overlooks the factor of community size is apt to neglect an important source of variation.[2]

In keeping with this notion, Chapter 10 of their volume is entitled, "Village Population", and by definition this includes centers of less than 2,500 population.

Somewhat earlier, in 1942, T. Lynn Smith in a very significant paper, made an attempt to differentiate the concepts of village, town and city. These definitions are of course dependent upon and restricted by sources of mass data and in his case the regular Census of Population. Even with these limitations, his classification and definitions are quite important in the present context. The statement by Smith is as follows:

> At the present time, using size as the criterion, the following definition of **village** is in rather general use: a population center containing between 250 and 2,500 inhabitants, irrespective of the occupations of the residents. The upper limit coincides with present census practice in differentiating between urban and rural populations and sets villages apart from urban aggregates. The appellation **town** is proposed for centers of population varying in size from 2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants, and **city** for places with more than 10,000 residents. The lower limit is less satisfactory, but it does meet the principal objective of differentiating the village from the hamlet or the smallest aggregation of homes. It is recognized, however, that it might be better to choose 100 or some other figure as the line of demarcation between the two.[3]

About the same time, Vincent H. Witney was conducting a limited in scope but a very intensive

> . . . field of study of all places of less than 2,500 population in the ten contiguous north-central North Carolina counties . . . Within the subregion 126 villages and hamlets were found, and these were divided into three types, agricultural, industrial, and suburban according to major function. Division was also made into five class intervals, two for hamlets (25-99 and 100-249) and three for villages (250-749, 750-1249, and 1250-2499)[4].

Nearly two decades later, T. Lynn Smith presented another proposed classification which is also based on population numbers. It is, perhaps, both a detailing and a refinement of his earlier statement, and the general rural category corresponds fairly closely with the classification by Whitney which was presented above. Smith states that he ". . . has found the following arrangement or scale of considerable use."[5]

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[2] Otis Dudley Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., **Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950** (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 3.

[3] T. Lynn Smith, "The Role of the Village in American Society," **Rural Sociology,** Vol. 7, No. 1, March 1942, p. 11.

[4] Vincent H. Whitney, "The Rural-Nonfarm Population: Patterns of Growth in a Piedmont Area," **Social Forces**, Vol. 24, No. 1, October 1945, p. 81.

[5] T. Lynn Smith, **Fundamentals of Population Study** (J. B. Lippincott Company, 1960), p. 88.

Open country — less than 100 inhabitants.
Hamlets — 100 to 249 inhabitants.
Rural: Small Villages — 250 to 999 inhabitants.
Large villages — 1,000 to 2,499 inhabitants.
Size of community —
Small towns — 2,500 to 4,999 inhabitants.
Large towns — 5,000 to 9,999 inhabitants.
Urban: Small cities — 10,000 to 99,999 inhabitants.
Large cities — 100,000 to 999,999 inhabitants.
Metropolitan centers — 1 million or more inhabitants.

Approximately forty years ago, Kolb prepared a classification as a result of a very careful study of Dane County, Wisconsin. This study still merits considerable attention. His classification is based on an effort to correlate population size and the availability of services. The following is an adaptation of Kolb's contribution of four decades ago:

Type I. Single service (neighborhood or hamlet).
Type II. Limited and simple service (small village).
Type III. Semi-complete or intermediate (village and small town).
Type IV. Complete and partially specialized (town and small city).
Type V. Urban and highly specialized (city).

With respect to Type III, it is reported that centers of this class average about 800 - 1,000 people, but the range is much greater. Type IV centers, another town category, are reported to average about 2,500 with a range approximating 1,200 to 5,000 inhabitants[6].

Now to return to the original question: What is a small town? The preceding review of several efforts to answer this question impirically may be very confusing. But two rather generalized conclusions may be gleaned from the field on the basis of numbers of inhabitants in the center: (1) The rural small town appears to be a center ranging in size from 250 - 500 at the lower limit to approximately 2,500 at the upper limit and these are usually designated as villages. (2) The term "small town" when used in a more generic sense, usually includes the villages as designated above but it also includes centers with a population approximating 10,000 inhabitants. Finally, it is in the latter or the more generic sense that the term will be used in the remainder of this discussion. This is probably what we would have guessed anyhow!

Number of Centers and Population Change

How many small towns are there in America? In the course of the 1960 Census enumeration, data for nearly twenty thousand centers were obtained. Of these, 18,088 were incorporated and contained about 116 million people. There were 16,434 incorporated small towns in the United States in 1960, and 1,439 unincorporated small town were identified. This means, then, the basis of this discussion is the nearly eighteen thousand small towns spread across America. The 1960 Census shows that there were approximately 25 million Americans living in incorporated small towns and about four million more residing in identified unincorporated small towns.

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[6] J. H. Kolb, **Service Relations of Town and Country** (Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 58, December 1923), pp. 5-7. Also: J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, **A Study of Rural Society** (Houghton Mifflin Co., Third Edition, 1946), pp. 301-303.

TABLE 1

CHANGE IN NUMBER OF INCORPORATED PLACES AND POPULATION BY SIZE OF CENTER, UNITED STATES, 1950-1960

Size of Center	Number of Centers			Population		
	1950	1960	Percent Change	1950	1960	Percent Change
Total	17,118	18,088	5.7	96,062,627	115,910,865	20.7
500,000 or more	18	21	16.7	26,591,395	28,595,050	7.5
250,000 to 500,000	23	30	30.4	8,241,560	10,765,881	30.6
100,000 to 250,000	65	79	21.5	9,478,662	11,384,755	20.1
50,000 to 100,000	126	180	42.9	8,930,823	12,511,961	40.1
25,000 to 50,000	249	366	47.0	8,710,867	12,720,406	46.0
10,000 to 25,000	752	978	30.1	11,515,155	15,061,679	30.8
5,000 to 10,000	1,093	1,282	17.3	7,569,509	9,030,786	19.3
2,500 to 5,000	1,557	1,763	13.2	5,512,970	6,237,739	13.1
1,000 to 2,500	3,408	3,515	3.1	5,382,637	5,570,178	3.5
Under 1,000	9,827	9,874	0.5	4,129,049	4,032,430	– 2.3
Unincorporated	....	....	......	54,634,734	63,412,310	16.1
United States: Total				150,697,361	179,323,175	18.5

Source: United States Census of Population, 1950 and 1960.

Are small towns growing in terms of population? Table 1 partially answers this question for the incorporated centers. These data show that except for those centers above one-half million that in general the rate of population growth declines as the size of center declines. And, in fact, there was an actual population loss in the smallest class even though there was a very slight increase in the number of centers in this class.

There are, however, many hazards associated with this type of analysis not the least of which is the problem of centers being in one category at one date and in another category at a later date. In order to partially solve this problem, Table 2 has been prepared; but, these data relate only to North Carolina. The process of analysis is very simple, but it is somewhat tedious and time consuming. In this process, centers identified in the Census were classified by the size of the population in 1960. Each category, then, contains identical or matched centers for the two periods. The weakness of this method is that new centers of a given size — that is, those that appeared in the 1960 observation but not in 1950 — are not identified.

TABLE 2

POPULATION OF INCORPORATED CENTERS IN 1950 AND 1960 CLASSIFIED BY SIZE IN 1960 AND MATCHED WITH IDENTICAL CENTERS FOR 1950, NORTH CAROLINA

Size of Center, 1960	No. of Centers	Population 1960	Population 1950	Percent Change
Total	471	1,918,585	1,531,592	25.3
100,000 or more	3	432,273	296,242	45.9
50,000 to 100,000	4	294,488	229,963	28.1
25,000 to 50,000	7	251,367	199,548	26.0
10,000 to 25,000	21	332,057	265,056	25.3
5,000 to 10,000	26	178,902	154,678	15.7
2,500 to 5,000	44	153,889	132,309	16.3
1,000 to 2,500	108	167,916	150,156	11.8
Under 1,000	258	107,693	103,640	3.9
All Other Areas		2,637,570	2,530,337	4.2
North Carolina: Total		4,556,155	4,061,929	12.2

Source: United States Census of Population, 1950 and 1960.

These data do show very clearly that the rate of population growth declines as size of center decreases. It is of interest to note, however, that only in the two categories of less than 2,500 was the rate of population growth less than the state average rate of growth for the decade. This still does not take into account the growth which may occur as a result of the simple technique of extending the legal boundaries of the incorporated center. We do know that most of the growth of the central cities in metropolitan areas is accounted for by annexation. In the South, about four-fifths of the increase in population of central cities is accounted for by annexation. Comparable data for small towns are not available, but there is good reason to suspect that this process is used effectively by the officials of small towns.

80

Such an analysis as this, however, covers up the wide range which we know exists in rates of population change. Some sort of selectivity process is going on so that small towns are growing very rapidly while others are declining. Within ten miles of Raleigh, North Carolina, a city of approximately one hundred thousand, there are two small towns — one to the east and the other to the west. One of these small towns increased from 1,446 in 1950 to 3,356 in 1960. In the other, the population increased from 1,180 in 1950 to 3,451 in 1960.

Perhaps some tentative generalizations might be stated. The closer a small town is to a sizeable city, the more likely that the population is increasing rapidly. Those small towns whose major function is residence for a population largely employed in a nearby city, the more likely that the small town is growing. At the other extreme, another generalization may be hazarded: The more dependent the small town is on the surrounding agricultural economy, the more likely that the small town is either remaining about the same size or actually declining in population. Two competent observers in the Midwest have pointed up that "One could expect areas beyond commuting range of strip cities to have more stable populations unless industrial developments occur within local population centers." /7 This is a whole area of interesting, important and needed research. What are the key factors associated with this selectivity process?

Demographic Characteristics

Do small towns have a distinctive demographic profile? The answer to this question is not simple and the old cliche of **yes and no** must be brought into play. A review of the Duncan and Reiss documentation from the 1950 Census shows that, for most indexes, the small town of America is intermediate between the smaller urban centers and the more rural categories but with some tendency to resemble or belong to the former. Specifically, with respect to villages, they state that ". . . the village groups tend to 'belong' with the group of small urban places rather than with the 'other rural' groups."/8

On the other hand, their analysis reveals several distinctive characteristics. From the 1950 data, they report that ". . . the villages have a higher proportion aged 65 and over, a higher proportion of native white population, and a higher proportion of married males (holding age constant) than any other size-of-place group."/9 Smith, in his study previously cited, shows that in 1930 ". . . the aged population was 40 per cent more important in the villages than it was in the national population."

A preliminary examination of the 1960 Census data shows the continuation of at least two of these distinctive features. In small towns of 1,000-2,500, the aged comprised 12.2 percent of the population and 11 percent of the population in the 2,500-10,000 class was in the aged category. In many of these small towns, one out of five persons is 65 years or older. Also, the 1960 data show that small towns contain a relatively low proportion of non-whites. For example, only 7.7 percent of the population in centers with 1,000-

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7/Mervin G. Smith and John B. Mitchell, "What Kind of Rural America Will Tomorrow Find?" **Better Farming Methods**, June 1962, p. 20.

8/Ibid., p. 110.

9/Ibid.

2,500 was classified as nonwhite, and the figure is 8.7 percent in the 2,500-10,000 class. The corresponding percentage was 17.8 in the metropolitan central cities and 10.8 in the "other rural" category.[10] This latter pattern may be changing quite rapidly and significantly. One of our studies shows that the long time dearth of nonwhites in the rural-nonfarm sector is rapidly becoming overcome.

Problems, Problems and Problems

Small towns, perhaps, do not have more problems than larger — they may simply appear to have more than their appropriate share. Nevertheless, hundreds of small towns are in real trouble and for many the trouble becomes progressively severe. For many the onset of the trouble began several years ago. But the problems are of many different types, and there is a wide range of intensity. The direction and intensity of the difficulty may be illustrated by the change in population of the following two centers in the upper range of the small town classification.

Census Year	Small Town A	 B
1940	9,428	3,557
1950	6,921	4,414
1960	3,202	7,461

Both of these small towns have problems, but certainly the problems are of a different nature. Other illustrations and even more dramatic ones could be cited. For example, one small town in North Carolina had a population of 505 in 1910 and this had increased to only 873 in 1940. But by 1960 the population had increased to 13,491. On the other hand, the population of many small towns remains remarkably constant. One center in Iowa, for example, had a population of 1,408 in 1940 and 1,415 in 1960. Many of the very small, small towns have their problems too as they continue to lose population. One center in the very heart of a rich farming section in North Carolina shows this story: 1940 — 369; 1950 — 265; and 211 in 1960. Problems, they all have problems but the difficulties are different in magnitude, direction and intensity.

Two recent stories appearing a week apart in a local newspaper, one by-lined Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and the other Mechanicsville, Iowa, tell the dramatic story of the multitude of problems faced by small towns. One is a general picture while the other is a case study. The article of a general nature is captioned "Budgets Tax the Public Outlook." In this article the problems of small towns are summarized as follows:[11]

> In hundreds of communities all over North Carolina it's budget-preparing time again.
>
> For mayors, aldermen and town commissions, it means the time-consuming, headache-producing job of trying to squeeze the equipment and services a town needs into the funds provided by anticipated revenue.
>
> The smaller the town, the harder the problem is becoming. And North Carolina has many small towns.

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[10] Much of this preliminary investigation has been done by a graduate assistant, Mrs. Janice MClendon.

[11] Bill East in **The News and Observer,** May 27, 1962.

82

A mayor put it this way: "A town, no matter how small must provide basic services — police and fire protection, garbage collection, sewers and water, streets."

"These basic services," he continued, "have a general basic cost. Sometimes when the town is slow at growing, the town's administration is hard-pressed to meet these basic costs."

An alderman in another town said that the revenue of North Carolina towns is so tied up with providing basic services that it is difficult to find funds for major projects.

"We need a new town hall," he said, "a new fire truck, a couple of new trucks, a new water wagon and some other items. But I don't see any of them on the horizon."

Another mayor said the sources of revenue for towns are limited. "We can raise our tax rates," he said, "but we are then just inviting people to stay out of town. It's a problem."

The other story is a case study of a small town in Iowa. The Census shows that the population of Mechanicsville was 821 in 1940, 850 in 1950, and had increased to 1,010 in 1960. In the local newspaper the article was captioned: "Two Ways in Impossible Rancor."/12 The editor or someone had written the following introductory statement to the story:

> What can happen anywhere when citizens take two ways in impossible obstinacy has happened in the now divided little town of Mechanicsville. Part of its citizens wanted its streets improved and paved. Part didn't. A $270,000 paving project has been halted as a consequence and now everybody makes his way in impossible and implausable rancor.

This, then, is the story of Mechanicsville, Iowa. But, it is a story repeated over and over in a greater or a lesser degree in scores of small towns throughout America:

> This small town, which calls itself the pork capital of the world, at times resembles a giant hog wallow.
>
> About 50 streets — two-thirds of Mechanicsville's thoroughfares — were quagmires this spring because a proposed $270,000 paving project was hopelessly ensnarled in a legal comedy of errors.
>
> Controversy over the paving has torn the town apart both emotionally and physically. Mud or dust fills the breach — depending on the season.
>
> "All because we wanted to live like human beings instead of like hogs," said one townsman bitterly.
>
> Longtime friends no longer speak to each other. Neighbors are at odds. Business has suffered. Charges of political chicanery — and worse — have been hurled against the state.
>
> It is a town aflame — and no one seems to know how to put out the fire.

12/The story is by Dan Perkes and appeared in the May 20, 1962 issue of **The News and Observer**.

In the meantime, the streets are impossible and there is no money to do anything about it because:

There's no way of raising money without selling bonds.

The town can't sell bonds because it is deeply in debt to a contractor for work already performed.

It can't pay the contractor without levying special assessments on private property.

And the town can't levy special assessments because the Iowa Supreme Court will not permit it.

Mechanicsville, 1,010 population, is a normally quiet community of retired farmers and people who earn their living in the nearby cities of Cedar Rapids and Iowa City.

Except for paving its main street and a few other key thoroughfares, Mechanicsville always has relied on oil and rock to surface roads. The last paving project was in 1925.

Mayor Phil Sorensen said the town spent $78,000 from 1952 to 1960 just for maintaining the unimproved roadways.

"After spending all that money the streets still were muddy and impassable," Sorensen said. "In fact, our undertaker had to hold a body for eight days once because there was no way of getting to the cemetery.

"Everyone was complaining so we decided to do something."

After overruling a minority of objectors who opposed paying special assessments to help finance the project, the Council awarded a contract to Iowa Road Builders Co., of Fairmont, Minn., to pave 71 blocks. Work was begun March 22, 1961.

Objectors went to the State Appeal Board in Des Moines.

The board, which consists of the state comptroller, state treasurer and state auditor, scheduled a hearing here. The contractor halted work in hopes the session would clear the air.

Fourteen objectors were heard. Only the town attorney represented the proponents of the project.

The council argued later that it was given the impression the hearing was only to hear objectors.

The Appeal Board upheld the objectors. It said the project was too large for the town, and the proposed method of financing it — $62,000 in general obligation bonds and the rest in special assessments — was inequitable and excessive.

The attorney general then ruled the Board had no authority in the matter, but the Board refused to back down.

So the Council sued the Appeal Board in District Court, which upheld the Council and attorney general.

On the strength of that decision, the contractor was given the go-ahead to proceed.

He had completed about $114,000 in gutters, storm sewers and curbing when work was again halted because the Iowa Supreme Court reversed the District Court in favor of the project's opponents.

Deadend in Bitterness

Subsequent efforts to reach some sort of agreement have met with little success.

At one session, the objectors said bluntly the five council members were personally responsible and should be made to pay the contractor out of their own pockets.

The objectors did agree, however, to permit a bond issue for temporary street repairs.

But the contractor balked. Why should he have to wait for his money? He threatened to sue and the repair idea was dropped.

James Remley, attorney for the objectors, blames the dilemma on the council.

"The whole mistake was in proceeding on the paving when the matter still was involved in litigation," he said.

"A good many of the objectors are retired people living on Social Security and old age pensions. They felt the assessments were too high."

They would be about $440 for the average homeowner.

How Many Opposed?

Remley said he represented 175 objectors. The council claims there are less than 50.

Retired farmer Ben Barnhizen, one of the opponents of the project, explained his position simply.

"This program is too big for our town. I've been agin it from the start and that's all I got to say."

Joe Paider, a grocery store owner, said his business has declined because of out-of-town buying parties organized by objectors.

He wrote the governor, who has been campaigning to promote tourism in Iowa.

"We have mud. We would be happy to show the tourists of the United States some good Iowa mud roads."

A Town Can Die

Kenneth Deahl, 44, a wholesale druggist who came here from Fort Wayne, Ind., in 1953 to set up shop and a pro-paving leader, said:

"You have to live in a small town like this to find the petty hates and prejudices. I'm disgusted. It's an incentive for me or anyone else to leave town if the opportunity arises."

Mrs. Deahl, an attractive brunnette, echoed her husband's sentiments.

A recent publication from Wisconsin contains a section entitled "Town Problems." It is of considerable importance to review and summarize the problems of towns — 1,271 of them in Wisconsin as of May 1, 1961 — as seen through the eyes of a professional in government. Ruth Baumann, Assistant Director, Bureau of Government, sees the following as problems of towns in that state (the first four relate to growing towns while the fifth relates specifically to towns with a declining population):

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1. The control of land use.
2. Sanitation control.
3. Providing municipal services — police and fire protection, streets, street lighting, parks, playgrounds, and libraries.
4. The mixing of newcomers with long-time residents.
5. Declining population — "Many towns . . . are cutting down on their services . . . It may be that many town governments . . . will soon have relatively little left to do except provide roads, conduct elections, and collect taxes."/13

Hundreds of these small towns historically have depended upon the surrounding farm population for their very existence. But, the farm population is rapidly disappearing — farms are becoming larger and fewer in number. How will the combination and consolidation of farms affect main street of the service center, i.e., the small town? All the answers are not yet available nor are they likely to be soon. But, two observers in Iowa have recently provided some clues concerning the changes along main street which are likely to occur in the purchasing patterns as one larger farm takes the place of two or three smaller ones. These observers conclude that:

> With consolidation, consumer goods stores on 'main street' can expect changes in the blend of farm family spending. There are fewer farmers in the community to buy groceries and other necessities. But if remaining farmers gain larger net incomes through bigger operations they'll spend more on their families. They'll call for a higher standard of living. They won't spend much more for groceries but will spend more for housing, furniture, appliances and recreation./14

As this trend continues, and it will, many small towns, through the process of selection, will either literally disappear or at best they will become semi-ghost towns. At the same time, many other small towns, through the same process of selection about which we know very little, will survive and grow. They will continue to provide services to residents from within and to inhabitants from without.

Increasingly, it appears that many small towns have the loyalty of only one or two or a very limited number of the segments of life. The center is a place of residence, but the adults have their economic ties in some other center. Parents may have to join three units of the PTA — grade school, junior and senior high school — and all or perhaps two of these may be in some center other than that of their residence. Other sectors of community attachment and loyalty are perhaps even more dispersed so the point need not be labored. The situation makes it very difficult to arouse and nurture enthusiasm which is so necessary to the provision and maintenance of many kinds of services on a voluntary basis in the small town.

Small towns certainly are not masters of their own fate. Progressively these centers are dependent upon and are dominated by larger centers and by other forces from without over which the local residents have little or no

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13/Ruth Baumann, **The Town in Wisconsin** (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Extension Service Circular 599, August 1961), pp. 4-6.

14/Arnold Paulsen and Jerry Carlson, "Is Rural Main Street Disappearing?" **Better Farming Methods**, December 1961, p. 12.

86

control. The local bank is a branch bank and the credit and other service policies are established in other centers ten, a hundred, or perhaps a thousand miles away. Civic organizations are not indigenous to the small town but they are slotted numbers in the national or international hiearchy. As a consequence, the organizational structure, operating policies and major functions are determined by others. Thus the organization must either conform or die. It seems unnecessary to further document the thesis of increasing dominance of small towns from without.

Many of the problems of small towns, already acute, will become very severe in the immediate years ahead. One important service area has been selected as an example of this concern in the future. The data presented are for North Carolina but recent studies in Wisconsin, the Northern Great Plains, and the Southern Appalachian Region reveal very similar situations except some of these show an even more critical prospect./[15]

Physicians located in the smaller communities of North Carolina have a different age distribution than do doctors located in larger communities. In 1957, of the doctors located in population centers containing a population of less than 500, 30.1 percent of these were 65 years of age or older as compared with 9.3 percent in the fifty to one hundred thousand category. The total pattern is quite consistent — as the size of community decreases, the proportion of doctors who are above 65 years increases. Also, the median age of physicians decreases as the size of community increases. In population centers of less than 500, the median age was 52.2 years in 1957 as compared with 40.3 years in those communities containing between fifty and one hundred thousand people.

Also, the age distribution of physicians is very different in communities with one or a very few doctors as compared with communities having a large number. In single-physician communities, a third of those doctors were 65 years of age or older. On the other hand, only 8.8 percent were in this age class in those centers containing one hundred or more doctors. In general, the proportion above 65 years decreases as the number of physicians in a community increases. The same relationship is shown by using the median age of physicians — median age declines as the number of physicians in a community increases.

These data and these relationships have a great deal of significance for the people in small towns throughout North Carolina and the nation. As these older physicians retire or die, the people in the smaller communities must look to the larger communities for professional medical service. It is very predictable that many small towns that now have a physician will not have a doctor in the years ahead. Thus, we see the centralization of these essential services as is true of other important services.

Adjustments

Small towns in the generic sense will continue to perform significant functions. Many adjustments are not only necessary but are quite inescapable if these centers are to maintain a sense of continuity. Adjustment alternatives are neither easy to come by nor are they easily implemented. There are those rapidly growing small towns with school age children running out of their proverbial ears. At the other extreme, are those small towns with declining enrollments and this trend already covers a number of years. However, those small towns with a fairly stable population are not exempt from the necessity of adjustments in the light of rising costs and inadequate school facilities. Other essential services could be thrown into this same framework, but this example of the school-education arena should suffice. In any case, Larson and Lutz have made a real beginning in setting forth the alternatives for these three classes of communities./16

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[15] /Selz C. Mayo and C. Horace Hamilton, **Distribution and Characteristics of Physicians and Other Health Facilities in North Carolina;** C. Horace Hamilton, **Distribution and Characteristics of Physicians in Wisconsin**; Anton H. Anderson, **Health Resources in the Northern Great Plains**; C. Horace Hamilton, **Health and Health Services in the Southern Appalachians**.

Prescriptions under these conditions are not easy to write even if we knew all the components for the formula. Certainly all the elements are not known, but we have enough evidence to begin to point in a certain direction. The first of these guidelines is the fuller use of existing resources by the leaders in these small towns. There are literally scores of resources available which few of the small towns are employing, and many and perhaps most of these are free or nearly so just for the asking. The resources referred to here, by way of illustration, are the total resources of the land-grant college, including the Agricultural Extension Service and the engineering extension division, the state recreation commission, conservation and development including the section dealing with industrial development. This list need not be expanded for present purposes but the point is that all of these services are available through the simple process of the leaders taking the initiative and requesting assistance. This is a first step in the adjustment process.

The second guideline is the establishment of a study-planning-action committee, commission or board. Such an instrumentality would have broad representation and it is through this instrument that the outside professional resources would be funneled. Such a group, composed of the best available leadership, would begin to analyze problems, begin to make a careful inventory of community needs, and it would begin to formulate a clear picture of the potentialities of the community. Out of the situational analysis would be developed a program of action. This, then, is the second step in the process of adjustment.

The third aspect involves the process whereby the leadership in small towns joins hands with the leaders in the larger logical whole of which it is a part and they assist in the inauguration of a total area development program. In this process, leaders recognize their dependency upon the larger whole and, at the same time, they recognize the contribution that these leaders and the small town in general can contribute to the development of the whole area. It is through this accepted interdependence of small town and area that adjustment logically takes place. This is the third step in the process of adjustment. These three steps are discrete on the one hand and so interrelated on the other as to be but phases of the total process of the adjustment of small towns in the ever changing American society.

16/Olaf F. Larson and E. A. Lutz, "Adjustments in Community Facilities Taking Place and Needed", **Adjustments in Agriculture — A National Basebook** (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1961), Ch. 11, pp. 285-336.

THE RURAL-URBAN FRINGE[*]

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INTRODUCTION

THE DECENTRALIZATION of urban areas is one of the most significant population movements now taking place. The recent census showed that this trend of long standing is reaching great proportions in our nation today. Between 1950 and 1960 Metropolitan Areas grew about four times as fast as the rest of the country, experiencing 85 percent of the total national increase. Yet three-fourths of this metropolitan growth was outside large cities, and these outlying portions of the Metropolitan Areas grew four and one-half times as fast as did the central cities.[1]

With this population change much rural open country has been transformed into urban territory through annexation and new incorporation, and such horizontal city growth shows no sign of abatement. At the cutting edge of this urban expansion is a mixed area, where rural and urban come together, which has been termed the "rural-urban fringe".[2]

It is difficult to define the rural-urban fringe precisely, and to distinguish it from other entities. Just what is the fringe? While this may seem a sterile, academic question, it deserves some attention. First, to communicate effectively, we need to have a reasonably clear idea of what it is we are considering. Second, in doing research, initial definitioins affect the nature of the conclusions. Therefore, we need to be aware of the definitions used by persons doing work on this topic.

While concern about urban decentralization has a rather long history, perhaps the earliest use of the term "fringe" was by T. Lynn Smith in 1937.[3]

Since then a number of scholars have written about and done research on the "fringe", the "urban fringe" or the "rural-urban fringe".

Some writers have tried to clarify the concept of the rural-urban fringe by distinguishing between the fringe and other entities, such as 1) the central city, 2) the suburb, and 3) the commuter zone.

Clearly the fringe is not coterminous with the **central city**. Yet it has been pointed out that the incorporation boundaries of some cities may include large areas of farm and open land, and hence mixed rural and urban areas may exist within the political city.[4] Such cases are likely to be unusual, however, and sometimes included in the fringe definition is the stipulation that it be unincorporated territory.

Suburbs are usually conceived of as urban communities peripheral to the central city. They are urban in nature, usually including no farms, and often identified as incorporated politically as well.[5]

The **commuter zone** extends well beyond the extensive mixture of farm and nonfarm occupations and land use found near a city, including all the area within which people travel to the city to work.[6]

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[*] Constance Stouse assisted in the bibliographical work connected with this paper.

Actually delineating the fringe for a field study presents many problems. Regardless of the specific definition used, it is difficult to determine where the urban area ends and the fringe begins and even more difficult to determine where the fringe ends and the open country begins. Problems of delineation will no doubt get worse, moreover, as the urbanization of rural areas proceeds, and in particular the distinction between the fringe and the commuter zone will become more and more blurred. This already was found to be the case in a recent study of Kenosha County, Wisconsin. A reconnaissance survey there showed farm and nonfarm dwellings scattered in good proportion throughout the entire county. /7

The particular definition of the fringe used by an investigator may stress land use, occupation, governmental organization or perhaps social or cultural setting./8 In reviewing some of the research projects in this field, however, Kurtz and Eicher point out a major distinction in the type of definition used. There are those who view the fringe as a rather densely populated area adjacent to a city, and those who add to this the requirement that the area have mixed rural and urban land use or occupational structure./9

This distinction between viewpoints is an important one. Thus some people focus on the problems and associations of the urban migrants themselves and are not concerned with the presence or absence of farm and rural people./10 Others focus on the problems farmers face with the invasion of nonfarm residents, or on the assimilation of rural and urban people as they come together in a residence situation./11

It may be possible to reconcile these approaches by shifting from a static to a dynamic point of view. Thus, the fundamental aspect of the rural-urban fringe, at least within the United States experience, is **transition.** The fringe is an area moving from rural to urban in land use, occupational structure and social organization. What is fringe today is most often city or suburb tomorrow./12

By focusing on the fringe as a zone in transition, it is seen that the two approaches to the definition of the fringe should not usually yield research on different types of areas, but on the same types of areas at different points in their process of change from rural to urban. This does not, of course, succeed in making these studies completely comparable. On the contrary, it introduces a new dimension. Two studies may use precisely the same definition of the rural-urban fringe, but the area involved may differ in the extent to which they have changed from rural to urban./13

A REVIEW OF RESEARCH

In turning now to what is actually known about the rural-urban fringe, we find a few scattered studies in different areas using different definitions at different times so as to catch the area, on a cross-sectional basis, at different points on the transition from rural to urban. Furthermore, there is no reason to expect that these few studies, even if comparable, would be representative of the universe of ringe areas in our nation.

With such an introduction, a suitable conclusion for a careful research person might seem to be that generalizations on the basis of present data are impossible and that more, and more comparable, research is needed. Yet this would surely be overly cautious. A lot of hard, careful, work has been done, and the least we can do is look at the results. Though these diverse pieces of research cannot be generalized to all rural-urban zones of transition, some communalities in the findings can be noted. This analysis should be useful in programming future research and certainly should provide guidelines which would be better than no empirical knowledge at all for the person involved in action programs in the rural-urban fringe.

Settlement Patterns and Land Use

The settlement patterns of fringe areas are usually characterized by scattered nonfarm development./14 If the area is in farms, there may be an irregular transition from farm to nonfarm land use as some farmers sell off a few lots piecemeal or sell out entirely, while others continue to farm. Sometimes ribbon-like developments along major highways come into being. Thus the city does not usually grow into the rural areas smoothly, but by a "leap-frog" process. It is this scattered development which gives the fringe its peculiar rural-urban character.

This unplanned transition in land use has given rise to many problems and to the plea for a land use plan and zoning regulations in these areas. The presence of idle, but productive, farm land is often as a by-product of this shift./15 Examples of incompatible adjacent land uses are common. Moore and Barlowe tell of an automobile dismantling and used parts center, with adjacent area used for the storage of junked cars, which was established one hundred yards from a high value residential development in the East Lansing, Michigan, fringe./16

The Migrants to the Fringe

Available studies show most fringe migrants come directly from urban areas, and most of these from the nearby central city. Others, however, move to the fringe from outlying rural areas./17 Two studies showed that in most cases either the husband or the wife had had some rural experience prior to moving to the sample area./18

Most fringe residents work in the central city./19 Thus indications are that the typical migrant moves from the central city to the fringe, but continues to work in the central city. This occupational tie to the city probably has important implications for the social organization of the fringe, just as it does for the suburbs./20

Several investigators have shown family size to be large, or that fertility rates are high in the fringe./21 A number have also noted a preponderance of younger adults or young married couples./22 This suggests that much of the fringe migration is of young couples just prior to or during their childbearing years.

No consistent finding on social and economic characteristics were noted. Some fringe areas attract highly educated, professional people, while other include newcomers who are primarily skilled and semi-skilled factory workers. At any rate there is certainly no basis to conclude that residents of the fringe or the suburbs generally have higher socioeconomic status than those in the central cities./23

The reasons for moving given by migrants are usually concerned with features of the residence locale rather than nearness to work or availability of employment. A perceived advantage of the fringe often given is that it is a better place in which to raise children. More space and freedom, a place to have a garden, and similar advantages of the setting are also given. Some mentioned that fringe living is less expensive than comparable city living. Studies carried out in areas having a housing shortage at the time reported respondents who were forced to move to the fringe because that was the only place where they could find housing./24

Students of rural-urban fringe development also have cited certain technological changes which serve as an incentive to fringe migration. Changes in transportation and communication have made commuting over longer distances possible. The availability of the telephone, and perhaps most important, electricity with all it makes possible, including running water and indoor plumbing, gives the fringe dweller all the modern conveniences of the urbanite./25 Some writers also hypothesize a desire on the part of migrants to capture certain idealized virtues they believe are found in rural life./26

Persons living in the fringe were found in several studies to be generally well-satisfied with their residence locations./27 Some researchers reported, however, that isolation of family members from the city, or lack of transportation facilities was one source of dissatisfaction./28

Trade and Social Relationships

The interrelation of fringe and city is revealed in data on trade and social relationships. Most studies show that residents trade and obtain services in the central city to a large extent./29 The movement of shopping centers to the peripheries of cities, however, has no doubt altered this situation in some specific instances./30

Some studies have indicated that longtime residents are more likely to visit and participate in organizations and institutions in the fringe than newcomers./31 In a similar vein, newcomers, especially those from the central city, have been found to continue or develop formal and informal group ties in urban areas./32 If the newcomers do not change in this respect as time goes by, one may hypothesize that migration to the fringe increases the social interdependence between fringe and city. One writer, in fact, argues that the social unity of the fringe and city should be emphasized and encouraged, and that a major problem is to overcome artificial barriers that tend to create separation. /33

Some scholars have viewed the fringe as an "institutional desert", and studies have shown low social participation among residents there./34 In a careful comparison, controlling for many other variables, Zimmer and Hawley found fringe residents to be less likely to attend church than residents of adjacent Flint, Michigan./35 There is evidence, however, of strong formal and informal group ties built especially around schools and churches in some fringe areas./36

There has been concern that fringe areas are possible arenas of conflict between old and new, as urban people move into established rural areas. As one writer points out, newcomers may be people with "rural nostalgias and urban appetites". /37 They may be concerned with changing established organizations and institutions to conform to their different standards.

Available evidence does not indicate that this is a very serious problem. Certainly both old and new residents face many challenges in accommodating to the rapid influx of newcomers. This is especially so in providing school facilities, insuring adequate drainage, proper sewage disposal systems, appropriate changes in land use, and similar matters. The solution of such problems, particularly the provision of schools, usually requires increased taxes which the farmer may feel affects him unfairly. This was found in several studies to be a source of potential conflict./38

In terms of how newcomers would affect ways of doing things and neighboring, one study reported that part-time farmers felt there would be either no effect or an improved effect on the community, though many older full time farmers were more unfavorable./39 Two other studies, on the other hand, showed favorable attitudes on the part of the long-time residents./40 It should be noted that many farm workers in the fringe are at least occupationally involved in city life, while none are physically isolated from the city. At least some newcomers, moreover, have farm or rural backgrounds. Thus differences between the two groups in interests and outlook need not be extreme./41

Institutional Adjustments

Existing institutions often must adjust to rapid population growth. Several writers have reported on the enormous problems faced by small local school districts having a large influx of families with children./42 Temporary schools, crowded classrooms, and limited educational programs are often a result of rapid fringe growth. One example given was of a one-room school district in Wisconsin which had 19 pupils in 1954 and 66 in 1955. It was not until 1957 that the district began construction of a four-classroom building./43 A factor aggravating the school problem is the lag of time, which may be well over a year, between the movement of the new resident to the area and the collection of taxes from him based on the value of his new building./44

Churches and voluntary associations may no doubt face similar problems, though modified by the voluntary nature of these organizations. Is the low social participation found in many fringe areas due to a selective migration of people who are not interested in such organizations, or because the organizations conveniently located are inadequate in number and in types of programs offered for the needs of the new residents? Or, are other factors such as length of residence, responsible?/45 The arrival of a hetergeneous aggregate of new migrants may well mean that the types of churches and voluntary organizations represented do not meet the potential needs of the area, so that simply enlarging established organizations may not be enough.

What of jurisdictional problems within large organizations? The writer knows of a national voluntary association set up on a county and local basis. The fringe of a large metropolitan center extends into an adjacent county, and an issue of concern to this association is whether or not the sub-unit located in this fringe area should be attached to the metropolitan county unit, since most residents work there. Do such problems impede needed programs of associations?

These and related aspects of social organization in the fringe clearly demand further investigation. A longitudinal analysis of adjustments of organizations to the changing size and composition of their actual and potential clientele should yield valuable insights.

Local governments, which were organized to meet the needs of sparsely settled rural areas, often are forced to cope with problems for which they were not designed. This includes especially planning and zoning, and the provision of urban-like facilities and services to a growing population. Here too jurisdictional disputes arise, centered around special districts such as those for schools, as well as the future of the local fringe government itself. The transition of fringe from rural to urban is usually accompanied by a governmental transition, which may be achieved through annexation to the central city or a suburb, or incorporation as a new village or city. The type of governmental change thus made may effect the future of the entire metropolitan area for years to come./46

Farming in the Fringe

The process of change through which the rural-urban fringe moves is at the expense of farming as an occupation. At the earlier stages of this process farm family members may obtain nonfarm jobs and become commuters just like the newcomers to the area. The farm then may be considered a part-time farm. Thus Whetten points out that the suburban or fringe movement is a two-way process, with urban people moving into the rural areas and retaining their urban jobs, and rural people continuing to reside in the area but turning to the city for employment./47 The nature of agriculture in the fringe is further modified by the addition of migrants who take up farming part-time while continuing their city job./48

As fringe development proceeds, land values increase with farm land becoming desirable for residential or commercial property./49 This may be advantageous to the farmer, enabling him to better himself by selling out and moving to another location where he may or may not continue farming. For a farmer ready to retire, high land values might make the goal of a secure or even prosperous retirement possible.

The farmer, and particularly the commercial farmer, faces many problems, however, if he wishes to remain in business in his fringe location. High land values will make it difficult to expand his operation. Property taxes will increase with the building of new schools and other facilities for the burgeoning population. If the farmer is taxed on the basis of the value of his land as nonfarm property, rather than its value as agricultural property, he must shoulder an increasing tax burden.

The farmer may become completely surrounded by non-agricultural developments, and with fewer and fewer farms in the area marketing and obtaining farm inputs may become more difficult as, in turn, farm related businesses are affected adversely. Unless special provisions are made, farming is ultimately doomed in a growing fringe area. With the difficulties of farming in the fringe, and high land values, a change in ownership of farm land is generally accompanied by a change from farm to nonfarm land use. Soon the transition from rural to urban is complete.

CONCLUSION

This paper has been concerned with the rural-urban fringe, a zone of transition located at the cutting edge of urban expansion. Research on scattered fringe areas has been reviewed, giving information on the characteristics of fringe people, and their social situation. Some possible problems arising from fringe development have been noted, in land use, social relations, institutional adjustments, and farming.

We need to know more, through careful research, about all of these social aspects of the transition process from rural to urban. Such research should preferably not be of the general survey variety, as was true of much of the work reviewed here. Rather it should have a specific focus, with a frame of reference derived from a social science discipline. The results might then contribute not only to the need for specific information about a particular type of area, but to the general body of knowledge and theory of the social science as well. Furthermore, this body of knowledge may itself contribute to the solution of problems concerning the fringe, even though not based exclusively on research carried out in the fringe.

Cross sectional studies, at a given point in time, should be supplemented, wherever possible, with longitudinal studies, carried out over time in an effort to learn more of the process of this transition. While the shift from rural to urban may be slow or rapid, and may never go to completion, it is a basic dimension on which to examine the rural-urban fringe.

Yet it is not necessary to wait for further research to make fringe residents, and future fringe residents aware of what others have experienced as urbanization proceeds. This may be a real need if the results of one Michigan study are any indication. It was found that old time residents of a rural township had little awareness of the nature and magnitude of an impending urban invasion./50 Persons in action agencies should give consideration to the problem of how to increase this awareness. It is possible that an understanding of what has happened in other fringe areas may lead to decisions on the local level which will help to solve some problems and avert others before they arise.

Finally, it is important to consider fringe development as an integral part of the larger process of urbanization which is now transforming so much of the world, and to consider the fringe itself as a part of a complex, interdependent metropolis. The invasion of rural areas by urban migrants is but one aspect of a redistribution of population which includes a heavy invasion of many central cities by rural migrants, and the depopulation of more remote rural areas. The tie between fringe and city through the trade, occupational, and social relationships of fringe residents, has been shown in research reviewed here. Decisions concerning form of government, zoning, schools, and other public activities, as well as the decisions of private organizations, may have consequences which go far beyond the particular part of the metropolitan area in which they are made. Therefore, the problems and challenges of the rural-urban fringe must be viewed in the context of the growing interrelation of city, suburb, fringe, and rural hinterland.

Footnotes

1/Leo F. Schnore, "Municipal Annexations and the Growth of Metropolitan Suburbs, 1950-1960," **American Journal of Sociology**, LXVII (1962), pp. 406-417. When Central City growth is considered without annexation, areas outside grew almost 40 times as fast as these cities did within their 1950 boundaries, and captured almost 97 percent of the total metropolitan increase.

2/While urban decentralization is the main basis of fringe development, writers have noted that persons from other areas often settle on the fringe directly. Myles W. Rodehaver, "Fringe Settlement as a Two-directional Movement", **Rural Sociology**, XII (March, 1947), pp. 49-57; W. A. Anderson, **Social Change in an Urban Fringe Area** (Cornell University, Department of Rural

Sociology, Publication 35, 1953). In discussing the rural-urban fringe in India, Rao notes that while in the United States this phenomenon is largely the result of deconcentration, in India it is due to the growing impact of metropolitan centers on villages nearby. M.S.A. Rao, " 'Fringe' Society and the Folk-urban Continuum", **Sociological Bulletin,** VIII (1959), pp. 13-18.

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[3] T. Lynn Smith, **The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes** (Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 293; Baton Rouge, 1937), p. 26. Cited in Samuel W. Blizzard and William F. Anderson II, **Problems of Rural-Urban Fringe Research: Conceptualization and Delineation** (Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station Progress Report No. 89; State College, 1952), p. 7.

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[4] Richard E. Andrews, "Elements in the Urban-Fringe Pattern", **Land Economics**, XVIII (May, 1942), p. 169; Blizzard and Anderson, **op. cit.**, pp. 20-21.

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[5] William Dobriner, **The Suburban Community** (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958), p. xvii; Richard A. Kurtz and Joanne B. Eicher, "Fringe and Suburb: A Confusion of Concepts", **Social Forces,** XXXVII (October, 1958), pp. 32-37; and Blizzard and Anderson, **op. cit.**, p. 4.

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[6] Andrews, **op. cit.**, p. 169; Blizzard and Anderson, **op. cit.**, pp. 5-6.

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[7] Jon A. Doerflinger, **Kenosha County, Wisconsin Study: An Overview of the Social Effects of Population Change** (University of Wisconsin, Department of Rural Sociology Bulletin; Madison, 1961).

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[8] J. Allan Beegle and Widick Schroeder, **Social Organization in the North Lansing Fringe** (Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Technical Bulletin 251; East Lansing, 1955), pp. 8-9.

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[9] Kurtz and Eicher, **loc. cit.** In this article the latter view is expanded into a carefully developed definition of the rural-urban fringe, and it is argued that areas not meeting the requirement of mixed rural and urban land use, whether or not incorporated, should be considered suburbs.

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[10] For example Walter Martin, **The Rural-Urban Fringe** (Eugene: Oregon University Press, 1953); Beegle and Schroeder, **op. cit.**; W. A. Anderson, **Fringe Families and Their Social Participation** (Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 909; Ithaca, 1955); and W. A. Anderson, **Social Change in an Urban Fringe Area.**

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[11] For example, E. Howard Moore and Raleigh Barlowe, **Effects of Suburbanization Upon Rural Land Use** (Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Technical Bulletin 253; East Lansing, 1955); Arthur J. Walrath, **Impacts of Changes in Land Use — A Study of an Urban Rural Area of Southeastern Wisconsin** (U.S. Department of Agriculture Bulletin ARS 43-95; Washington, 1957); Richard A. Kurtz and Joel Smith, "Social Life on the Rural-Urban Fringe", **Rural Sociology,** XXVI (March, 1961), pp. 24-38; and Vincent Heath Whitney, "Urban Impact on a Rural Township", in **Community Structure and Analysis** ed. Marvin P. Sussman (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1959), pp. 413-432.

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[12] This point is illustrated in a striking way with the research of Rodehaver. He carefully delineated the rural-urban fringe around Madison, Wisconsin in 1946. Almost all of this fringe area has long since been incorporated into the City of Madison or its suburban villages. Myles W. Rodehaver, "The

Rural-Urban Fringe: An Interstitial Area", (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1946).

[13] This time dimension is also pertinent in the study of suburban communities, as Dobriner points out. Dobriner, **op. cit.**, p. xxiii.

[14] Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.**, p. 8; Whitney, **op. cit.**, p. 421; Walrath, **op. cit.**, p. 427; and Walter Firey, **Social Aspects of Land Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe: the case of Flint, Michigan** (Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Special Bulletin 339, East Lansing, 1956), pp. 19-25.

[15] Walrath, **op. cit.**, p. 29; Firey, **op. cit.**, pp. 21-22; and Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.**, pp. 19-20.

[16] Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.**, p. 32.

[17] W. A. Anderson, **Fringe Families and Their Social Participation,** p. 7; Beegle and Schroeder, **op. cit.**, pp. 24-25; Samuel W. Blizzard, **Research on the Rural-Urban Fringe: A Case Study** (Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station Journal Series No. 1802, State College, 1954), p. 3; Kurtz and Smith, **op. cit.**, p. 18; Whitney, **op. cit.**, pp. 423-425; and Martin, **op. cit.**, pp. 60-63.

[18] Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.**, p. 12; Martin, **op. cit.**, p. 62.

[19] Kurtz and Smith, **op. cit.**, p. 28; W. A. Anderson, **Fringe Families and Their Social Participation,** pp. 24-25; W. A. Anderson and Donald N. Sibley, **The Social Participation of Fringe Families — A Second Study** (Cornell University, Rural Sociology Publication 50; Itnaca, 1957), p. 11; Whitney, **loc. cit.**; Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.**, p. 10; and Martin, **op. cit.**, p. 43.

[20] Martin discusses the implications of place of work on the social organization of the suburb. See Walter T. Martin, "The Structuring of Social Relationships Engendered by Suburban Residence", **American Sociological Review,** XXI (August, 1956), pp. 446-453.

[21] As, W. A. Anderson, **Social Change in an Urban Fringe Area**, p. 21; Anderson and Sibley, **op. cit.**, pp. 8-9; Beegle and Schroeder, **op. cit.**, pp. 14-15; Rodehaver, "The Rural-Urban Fringe: An Interstitial Area", pp. 43-44; and Richard R. Myers and J. Allan Beegle, "Delineation and Analysis of the Rural-Urban Fringe", **Applied Anthropology,** VI (Spring, 1954), pp. 14-22.

[22] W. A. Anderson, **Social Change in an Urban Fringe Area,** p. 20; Anderson and Sibley, **op. cit.**, pp. 7-8; Whitney, **op. cit.**, p. 424; Beegle and Schroeder, **op. cit.**, p. 21; Rodehaver, "The Rural-Urban Fringe: An Interstitial Area", p. 44.

[23] For a discussion of variations in suburbs see Bennett M. Berger, **Working Class Suburb** (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), esp. Ch. 1. Also see Leo F. Schnore, "City-Suburban Income Differentials in Metropolitan Areas", **American Sociological Review,** XXVII (April, 1962), pp. 252-255.

[24] Beegle and Schroeder, **op. cit.**, pp. 21-22; Kurtz and Smith, **op. cit.,** p. 29; Martin, **The Rural-Urban Fringe**, p. 37; Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.,** p. 11; W. A. Anderson, **Social Change in an Urban Fringe Area,** pp. 22-23; and Rodehaver, "The Rural-Urban Fringe: An Interstitial Area", pp. 35-38.

[25] Nathan L. Whettan, "Suburbanization as a Field for Sociological Research", **Rural Sociology,** XVI (December, 1951), pp. 319-330; W. A. Anderson, **The Flight to the Fringe** (Cornell University, Department of Rural Sociology Bulletin 46; Ithaca, 1956), pp. 1-14.

97

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[26] As, Solon T. Kimball, **The New Social Frontier: The Fringe** (Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Special Bulletin 360; East Lansing, 1949), pp. 14-16; George Donohue and Leo G. Reeder, "How Do Farmers React to Suburban Development", **Minnesota Farm and Home Science**, XVIII (Fall, 1960), p. 10; and Whettan, **loc. cit.**

[27] Martin, **The Rural-Urban Fringe,** p. 74; Whitney, **op. cit.**, p. 426; and Beegle and Schroeder, **op. cit.**, p. 21.

[28] Martin, **The Rural-Urban Fringe,** p. 40; Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.**, p. 27; and Beegle and Schroeder, **op. cit.**, pp. 22-23.

[29] Beegle and Schroeder, **op. cit.**, p. 27; Kurtz and Smith, **op. cit.**, p. 31; Walter C. McKain, Jr., **Effect of Suburbanization Upon Retail Trade Part One: Retail Sales and the Central City** (Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station Progress Report 19; Storrs, 1957), p. 4; Rodehaver, "The Rural-Urban Fringe: An Interstitial Area", pp. 65-69; and Whitney, **loc. cit.**

[30] James B. Tarver, "The Suburbanization of Retail Trade in the Standard Metropolitan Areas of the United States, 1948-1954", **American Sociological Review,** XXII (August, 1957), pp. 429-433; and Whitney, **op. cit.**, p. 422.

[31] Kurtz and Smith, **op. cit.**, pp. 36-38; Walter T. Martin, "A Consideration of Differences in the Extent and Location of Formal Associational Activities of Rural-Urban Fringe Residents", **American Sociological Review**, XVII (December, 1952), pp. 687-694.

[32] Anderson and Sibley, **op. cit.**, pp. 13-30; W. A. Anderson, **Fringe Families and Their Social Participation,** pp. 11-40; Beegle and Schroeder, **op. cit.**, pp. 27-28; Kurtz and Smith, **op. cit.**, p. 31; Martin, **The Rural-Urban Fringe**, p. 43; Moore and Barlow, **op. cit.**, p. 28; and Rodehaver, "Fringe Settlement as a Two-Directional Movement", **op. cit.**, pp. 56-57.

[33] W. A. Anderson, **Fringe Families and Their Social Participation**, p. 44.

[34] Firey, **op. cit.**, pp. 37-40; Beegle and Schroeder, **op. cit.**, p. 26; and Martin, **The Rural-Urban Fringe**, p. 57.

[35] The fringe is not defined in the report of this study, and may well include some small incorporated suburbs and parts of what would be defined by others as the commuter zone. Basil G. Zimmer and Amos H. Hawley, "Suburbanization and Church Participation", **Social Forces,** XXXVII (May, 1959), pp. 348-354.

[36] W. A. Anderson, Olaf F. Larson, and Fathalla A. S. Halloul, **Social Change in the Slaterville Springs – Brooktondale Area of Tompkins County, New York, 1926-1951** (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 920; Ithaca, 1956); Albert Schaffer, "A Rural Community at the Urban Fringe", **Rural Sociology,** XXIII (September, 1958), pp. 277-285.

[37] Martin, **The Rural Fringe,** p. 1.

[38] Donohue and Reeder, **loc. cit.**; Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.**, pp. 22-24, 28-29; Walrath, **op. cit.**, pp. 33-35; Whitney, **op. cit.**, p. 426; and Charles Press and Clarence J. Hein, **Farmers and Urban Expansion: A Study of a Michigan Township** (United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin ERS-59; Washington, D.C., 1962), pp 17-21.

[39] Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.**, pp. 27-28.

[40] Donohue and Reeder, **loc. cit.**; Allen D. Orman and Douglas G. Mar-

shall, **The Changing Role of Agriculture in Kenosha County — Farmer Attitudes Toward Nonfarm People** (University of Wisconsin, Department of Rural Sociology, Report No. 2, Madison, 1957).

[41] See also the discussion in Whitney, **op. cit.**, pp. 430-432.

[42] Doerflinger, **op. cit.**, p. 24; Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.**, pp. 25-26; and Walrath, **op. cit.**, pp. 37-41.

[43] Walrath, **loc. cit.**

[44] **Ibid.**

[45] Zimmer and Hawley considered distance to church in their study of church participation. They found distance was important, but by no means sufficient to explain the city-fringe differences. Zimmer and Hawley, **op. cit.**, p. 353.

[46] Frederick D. Stocker, "Governmental Problems on the Urban Fringe", **Agricultural Economics Research**, XIII (October, 1961), pp. 117-121; Henry J. Schmandt, **The Municipal Incorporation Trend, 1950-1960** (Bureau of Government, University of Wisconsin, Report NS 11; Madison, 1961); and Schnore, "Municipal Annexations and the Growth of Metropolitan Suburbs, 1950-1960", **loc. cit.**

[47] Whettan, **op. cit.**, p. 321.

[48] H. R. Moore and W. A. Wayt, "Ohio's Study of Part-time Farmers Reveals a Two-way Movement", **Extension Service Review,** XXVI (April, 1955), p. 83ff; Glenn V. Fuguitt, "A Typology of the Part-time Farmer", **Rural Sociology,** XXVI (March, 1961), pp. 39-48.

[49] For discussions of the problems farmers must meet in the fringe, see Donohue and Reeder, **loc. cit.**; Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.**, esp. pp. 21-24; Walrath, **op. cit.**, pp. 29-36; Frederick D. Stocker, **How Should We Tax Farmland on the Rural-Urban Fringe?** (U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service; Washington, D.C., 1961); and Press and Hein, **op. cit.**, pp. 17-28.

[50] Press and Hein, **loc. cit.** See also Moore and Barlowe, **op. cit.**, pp. 33-34.

MARKETING

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IN BROAD perspective, American agriculture has evolved from a background of centuries of human activity in which the supply of food was a limiting resource. Barring a few relatively brief and exceeptional situations, food was not only scarce but so much human effort was devoted to its production that the satisfaction of other wants and aspirations occupied a secondary position. Conditions of food abundance are still so circumscribed in both place and time that U.S. agriculture is confronted with essentially new problems of adjustment.

Consumers find the adjustment comparatively easy. They enjoy the opportunity to exercise greater discretion and to be far more discriminating in their food habits. Physical problems such as wrestling with obesity, or psychological problems such as accepting food destruction and waste are hardly as intense or difficult as those encountered by producers whose means of livelihood are drastically altered. Nevertheless, consumers constitute the political majority and their views may prevail in considering resolution of the problems.

Town and country society, now in a minority position, appears to be waiting suppinely for legislators, government, market agents, or somebody to resolve problems of compensation, prices, equity, health, education, and future growth that are or should be of deep concern to farmers. Action is needed. But greater cohesion of interests and objectives is necessary as a foundation for effective action.

One of the values said to be prized by the farmer is freedom — economic freedom. This implies an ability to make his own production and marketing decisions in the interest of himself and his family; and also the freedom to fail or to suffer the consequences of erroneous decisions. The degree of control, or the ability, a farmer may have to make intelligent decisions needs to be examined before passing judgment on the validity of this view. Let us confine our observations to the market place.

At the market, the farmer finds that it takes at least two to make a bargain. He probably has to deal with a specialized buyer or seller. The time has long since past when the farmer can exercise the choice of doing his own marketing by selling directly to consumers. When he negotiates with a market agent for sales (or purchases) he enters into a joint decision between himself and a trader. Most likely, today, he will be confronted with an offer that he can take or leave. If he finds alternative offers all unremunerative or otherwise unsatisfactory he may be helpless in the short run. His inequality of bargaining power detracts from his assumed freedom. Over a longer period he may join with other dissatisfied farmers in an effort to rectify the situation. Effective action depends upon farmers making intelligent decisions based on informed knowledge of marketing. A prime requisite is that marketing objectives be identified before action can be devised to attain them.

OUR TOWN AND COUNTRY SOCIETY LOOKS AT ITSELF

There was a time when farmers had access to little information about markets and marketing, which were often regarded as a mysterious abyss between farms and consumers. What happened within this area was charged with sufficient public interest that several governmental activities were directed toward shedding light on it. Services such as market news and crop and livestock estimates, regulations such as the Packers and Stockyards Act and Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act, and research such as market economic studies have all contributed. From this enlightenment several pertinent observations can be drawn.

Marketing takes 2 out of every 3 dollars spent for food and this proportion is more likely to grow than to recede.

American consumers are willing and able to buy more services associated with food rather than more food.

Domestic food market expansion depends more upon redirecting food consumption toward products using more farm resources than upon expansion of the per capita intake of calories or other physical quantities.

So long as abundant supplies of food exist the tendency will be to spend more money to promote sales of such food and thereby absorb more of the consumer's dollar for marketing.

Rising wage rates dictate higher marketing costs unless they are offset by greater labor productivity; that is, by gains in efficiency in the use of labor in marketing activities.

Farmers achieved gains in efficiency of production largely as the result of research conducted by public agencies, and greater productivity in marketing is likely to be stimulated by the same approach.

Competition and the drive for efficiency have led to fewer and larger farms and also marketing firms. These developments to achieve economies of scale have not improved the farmer's bargaining position in the market place.

Vertical integration, representing one avenue toward economies of scale, has been developing rapidly in recent years. This development alters the farmer's relationships with market agents compared with the traditional exchange and pricing methods. It is implemented in part with control through contractual arrangements rather than ownership and it is breeching the conventional bounds between farming and marketing. Farmers may in the future be bargaining for contractual terms rather than prices.

These limited observations suggest several types of action including:

1. Education of the consuming public regarding the farm adjustment problems;
2. Farmer support for agricultural marketing research to:
   a. lead market agencies toward more efficient methods;
   b. enlighten farmers on the realities of today's market means and potentials; and
   c. study contractual arrangements employed in vertical integration to provide farmers with guides for negotiations with marketing agencies;
3. Promotion of group or concerted action by farmers to improve their bargaining positions;
4. Adoption of more clearly defined policies and goals with respect to farm production, prices, and income supplemented by program specifically designed to attain the objectives.

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION

A. F. WILEDEN, Professor of Rural Sociology,
University of Wisconsin

FOR THE PAST two days we have been talking about change and the implications of change to our town and country society. We have been talking about population changes with consideration to the rapid population increase, the increasing mobility of people, and the changes in population composition particularly with reference to older people. We have been talking about the rapidly increasing numbers of nonfarm people interspersed with farmers in rural areas and the changing demands this focuses upon the areas. We have talked about the trend to large scale farming and the increasing technical knowledge and financial investment which this entails. We have talked about the expanding concept of agriculture. And we have talked about the changing nature and role of the small town in rural America.

We are now evaluating the implications of these, and other changes, from the point of view of our formal educational systems, of the marketing and distribution of our products, and of our farm organizations and group life. Let us for a few minutes look at these changes from the point of view of the Extension Service, with special emphasis on the Cooperative Extension Service.

Extension's Past

As I am sure most of you are aware, while the Land Grant Colleges are celebrating their 100th anniversary, the Cooperative Extension Service is rapidly approaching its (official) fiftieth birthday. The Roosevelt Country Life Commission, which we in the American Country Life Association look to as our maternal and paternal ancestor, also had much to do with the establishment of the Extension Service.

Like the A.C.L.A., the Extension Service had its beginnings at a time when farm people, as a whole, were a definitely disadvantaged group. The Country Life Commission report of 1908 characterized the conditions of the time in such terms as "poor farming methods, soil depletion, lack of labor saving devices in the farm home, poorly prepared and monotonous diet, isolation of farm people, restraint of trade, poor health conditions, unequal educational opportunity, lack of recreation, and inadequate organizations for farm people". It was this situation that gave rise to a cooperatively financed and administered out-of-school educational program for rural people that even today is distinctive and unique throughout the world.

As we appraise the Extension Service in its early days, it is not surprising that the major emphasis was on improving individual farming practices. The nation's needs were for food and fiber and the farmers' needs were for increased products from more acres. Most of the research and formal teaching in the already established Land Grant Colleges was along these lines; and the county extension agents, who were and still are at the pivotal point in the system, were most competent in the agricultural production field. They worked very largely with individual farmers in his field of individual concern and in their own area of competence. Certainly no one today will deny that they did an outstanding job with those farmers who worked with them and who followed their recommendations.

There are understandable reasons why emphasis on the family side of farm living should have lagged behind the production side of farming. "The house can't build the barn" was the philosophy of the day, and even farm women conceded that the barn, and the herd, and the fields had to come first. But farm women would not be denied, and specialization on an age and sex basis began to find its place on the county Extension staff. Slowly but surely almost every county added a home agent to its staff to work with the earlier Extension agent who came to be known as the agricultural agent. And almost coincident with the adding of home agents to the county staffs came the adding in many counties of 4-H or youth agents. These were made possible by additional grants of federal and state funds, and in many cases by increased local funds from either public or private sources.

This Cooperative Extension system including county personnel, and state and federal specialists and administrators is today the largest single adult educational system to be found anywhere in the world, including some 13,000 professional workers of whom about 11,000 are out in the counties.

Before moving to a consideration of the present and the future of the Extension Service, there is one other historical fact that needs to be considered, particularly by this audience. That has been the slowness, and at times difficulty, with which the Extension Service has undertaken programs of a group nature other than in certain highly specialized fields, such as the 4-H Club and home demonstration club programs. And even the group aspects of these programs evolved slowly. There was some attention to community improvement programs, particularly in some of the southeastern states, and a few agents here and there had some success with the development of cooperative marketing programs of the producer-cooperative variety. Concentration in those early days was on the farmer and farm home as the basic constituent.

Institutional change basically of a group nature was impeded by some hesitancy in facing up to the impending changes in rural society, and in adjusting policy and programs within the Cooperative Extension Service to the changing needs of the time. It was impeded by an image that identified things "rural" with the concept "agricultural" and with the concept "farm."

Extension's Present and Future

This brings us to a consideration of Extension's present and future. There are those who say, with all sincerity, that Cooperative Extension with its emphasis on farm production has well performed its task, and that now with an apparently unsolvable surplus problem confronting us what is needed is an Extension moratorium until demand for farm products can catch up to supply and a balance may once more be restored. I do not propose to discuss this dilemma, other than to say that this is looking backward rather than forward. It is to assume that all of the problems of rural America are solved, which is certainly a most fallacious assumption.

What is needed, and this I am convinced is a major emphasis within the Extension Service today, is to take an honest look at the problems now confronting rural America and to so gear its emphasis and train or retrain its personnel so they can deal with these problems of today and tomorrow. This is the intent of the so-called Scope Study and the spirit of the Scope Report*.

*__The Cooperative Extension Service Today,__ Extension Committee on Organizational Policy of American Association of Land Grant Colleges and State Universities and U.S.D.A., 1958.

A Guide to Extension Programs for the Future, Extension Committee on Organizational Policy and U.S.D.A., 1959.

OUR TOWN AND COUNTRY SOCIETY LOOKS AT ITSELF

Starting first at the national level in 1958 and now being adapted to the particular needs of the several states, this report outlines nine areas of concern to rural people with which Extension might well be involved. One of these is still efficiency in agricultural production, of course, because we cannot afford to lose the advantage we now have in our ability to feed our people and even other people of the world. Other indicated areas of Extension concern in this report are marketing and distribution of farm products, conservation and wise use of natural resources, farm and home management, family living, youth development, leadership development including training for citizenship, community and resource development, and public affairs.

As I am sure you recognize, this is a very comprehensive characterization of Extension's growing responsibility and goes far beyond the prevailing concept of even a decade ago. It is Extension's present day response to the challenge of a changing town and country society. Extension is now committed to the task of girding its loins for the job ahead and for these responsibilities it has undertaken.

This policy statement is just a beginning. The next task is to train, and in some cases retrain, its personnel to work in the above indicated areas of concern, and this is moving forward at an accelerated rate. The summer schools for Extension workers, held first at four and now at six different centers in this country with close to 500 enrollees each summer, is a major move in this direction. Then there is the National Extension Center for the Advanced Study, which we are happy to have at the University of Wisconsin, with special emphasis on training for Extension administration. Also there are hundreds of already experienced or prospective Extension workers doing graduate study at our state Land Grant Colleges and Universities. Extension has become a profession, and prospective workers are today increasingly preparing themselves for Extension as a life work.

Not alone by policy and training are Extension workers increasingly involved in a broader educational program for rural people. The federal government through the rural development program of the previous administration and now the area development program of the present administration has assigned to Extension a major educational responsibility. These programs are concerned with the development of the total resources of an area as articulated in the "scope report." They are concerned with living as well as making a living. Also, many states are supplementing these federal programs through special programs of their own.

Whether called rural development, area development, resource development, or community development, Extension finds itself today committed, not only to an agricultural development program, but also to programs of industrial development, forest development, recreation development, farm and home development, and the like. Counties are adding forestry agents, recreation agents, resource development agents, and industrial development agents to their Extension staff. Some no longer have agricultural agents. Extension is working on programs of service to rural people on a broad front.

Before concluding my statement, I should mention another change that is confronting Extension today, a change that is forcing it to rethink and redefine its role. It is the increasing number of different public agencies and private organizations working at these tasks. Unlike fifty years ago when Extension was almost alone in the field, today there are separate national, state, and local agencies or organizations working at almost every conceivable phase of every program-management, processing, marketing, financing, regulation, or support. There is the need for them to work together in some sort of complementary or coordinated relationship. Each of these agencies is being disciplined to define its role, including Extension, and then work within that area of accepted responsibility. Extension, as an educational agency and one with long experience, is frequently looked to to take a lead in developing this complementary relationship. This is not an easy task in a rapidly changing social, economic, and political situation, and is not always appreciated; but it must be done.

One of these sets of complementary relationships which have a most vital bearing on Cooperative Extension, lies within the colleges and universities themselves. I refer to the various Extension services provided by these universities, the most extensive of which, other than the Cooperative Extension Services, being the General University Extension Divisions. As the line of demarcation between rural and urban areas and rural and urban people disappears, each frequently finds itself in what heretofore was considered the others area of endeavor. This is accentuated as they both seek to expand the scope of their operations. There are differences, of course, in methods of administration and in philosophy of education, but these difficulties need to be adjusted, and most certainly clearly understood. A few schools, such as Michigan State University and the University of Missouri, have gone so far as to merge the two under one administration. Others are in the process of working out a closer understanding and a cooperative working relationship. This seems essential as we view the nature of the changes in rural society and of these changes in the various Extension programs themselves. Society is a dynamic that influences not only the program within but the relationships between agencies, including our educational agencies.

Summary

In summary, I would like to state that this is only a very brief analysis from the point of view of the Cooperative Extension Service of its fifty years of experience. It is a very brief characterization of the nature of changes now under way as the Cooperative Extension Service girds itself to deal with the changing and expanding needs of rural people, and the needs of the nation as a whole. The situation is encouraging, and the next decade will reveal how well the adjustment is accomplished.

As has been implied several times during the past two days, the formulation of policy, as herein indicated, is the easier part of the task. The more difficult part is the implementation of policy within an institutional framework. This is a major responsibility of administraton.

Never have the deans of our Land Grant Colleges and the directors of Extension faced a more critical and also a more difficult situation than they face today. The challenge of institutional adjustment — of institutional change — is at their doorstep. Not only is this a task of program balance and program emphasis at a theoretical level, but also a task of implementing this balance and emphasis in terms of numbers of trained personnel both in the states and out in the counties. We might well consider the old adage, "it is later than you think," and the Land Grant Colleges in their resident teaching and research as well as in their Extension programs may have less time to facilitate the needed adjustments than they think. Time may well be of the essence.

FARM ORGANIZATIONS

JACK JACKSON, Director, Public Relations,
National Grange

AMERICA'S so-called farm problem constitutes the most unusual paradox of our time. It presents one of the **greatest challenges ever faced by the nation.** This is not a challenge to farmers alone; it is a challenge to the nation as well.

As Americans we have developed the most efficient and most productive system of farming ever known to man. Yet, we have failed to develop an effective, appropriate, and acceptable system of sharing results of this efficiency.

We have permitted important segments of the American public to develop a completely erroneous image of total agriculture; to view it as a national liability, instead of the nation's greatest single asset, which it is.

Farming is America's biggest business; it is her most important business. American agriculture is the most efficient and most productive in the world. Through the application of technological advancements to agricultural production, the agricultural efficiency of this nation has become the envy of all the world. Food and fiber resulting from this efficiency has created the one major area — recent space developments notwithstanding — where the supremacy of America's cold war efforts is unquestioned. Our abundance of food and fiber has already greatly reduced hunger and malnutrition, both at home and abroad.

All this is frequently referred to as "The efficiency of farmers." This is not a totally accurate reference. Today's unexcelled agricultural efficiency is a result of technological advancements in our total agricultural structure — both on and off the farm.

Off-the-farm advancements have been just as important and just as influential as have been the "on-the-farm" application of those developments.

Agriculture provides jobs for millions off-the-farm citizens. About 38% of America's total work force is engaged in agricultural or related pursuits while her on-the-farm population is less than 8%.

Then where have we failed — "What Does This Mean?" "Where Do We Go From Here?"

We have failed to develop an acceptable system for providing either for **adequate opportunities to share the rewards of agricultural efficiency** or for **appropriate and effective utilization of food and fiber resulting from that efficiency.**

Therein lies the basis for our farm problem.

All across the board our primary concern has been production. We have given relatively little attention to economic and market developments which govern both the farmer's production cost and his selling price, and which also determine the pattern of distribution and utilization of farm products.

For example, most high school students of vocational agriculture or older 4-H Club members — and certainly most farmers — have an excellent working knowledge of feeds and feeding, soil and water conservation, machinery operation, livestock and plant breeding, soil fertility, insecticides, and dozens of other highly complex techniques of production. They are skilled at these techniques.

But how many have anything like an adequate understanding of "off-the-farm" circumstances which govern the marketing of their products and which thus determine the income they will receive for products of their knowledge, investment, and labor? How many agricultural teachers, county agents, college professors, leaders of farm organizations, or even Congressmen possess such knowledge?

How many can intelligently explain the European Common Market or its possible affect upon their own market? How many understand mechanics available to their use in efforts to influence European Common Market policies? **These are policies affecting a billion dollar market for U.S. farmers; these are policies which will influence the political structure of the entire world.**

Marketing agreements and orders have been proposed for a number of additional agricultural commodities. These are highly significant and highly controversial proposals. Yet, how many really understand the principles involved? How many are qualified to cast an intelligent vote on this issue? How many have had training in the basic principles involved?

When agricultural surpluses are being discussed, someone almost always asks, "Why doesn't the United States simply give these surpluses to the starving millions of other countries?" How many understand trade patterns and other political and economic conditions which make such action impossible? As farm organizations and service agencies, how effectively or extensively have we encouraged such an understanding?

One of the hottest national domestic issues of recent years has been, and is today, the question of co-op taxation. Do most taxpaying citizens, or farm leaders, have an adequate understanding of principles involved in this issue? Are their opinions based upon a knowledge of facts or upon prejudice? It is a multi-million dollar issue. The outcome will affect the welfare of farmers, taxpayers, and all citizens. It will help determine the future pattern of our "town and country society." Again, what have we as public services or institutions done to encourage an effective understanding of this issue?

A broader and basically more important issue is United States trade policy.

Even now this one is under consideration in Congress. It will be decided soon. Do farmers and rural citizens have an adequate understanding of this issue? Do they understand the relationship to the farm problem or its potential affect upon the market for agricultural commodities — and upon the future pattern for our "town and country society?" Do farm organization leaders or Congressmen understand? How many are really qualified to cast an intelligent vote on the issue? How many are really qualified to cast an intelligent vote on the issue? Votes cast will significantly influence the future of agriculture and the nation — decisions made will, to a substantial degree, determine the future pattern of our "town and country society."

All these questions pertain to circumstances which have helped to generate the farm problem; all pertain to matters which will substantially influence the future of American agriculture. Answers are essential to the continuation of a desirable type of "town and country society." Yet, few can answer them adequately. Relatively few have given adequate study to matters involved. As rural leaders, we have done relatively little to encourage such study.

All this is an indictment of no specific individual or group. It does clearly show that individually and collectively many have failed to understand, or even recognize, major factors responsible to the current status of American agriculture. **As farmers and rural leaders, we haven't sufficiently recognized or emphasized the importance of such an understanding.**

Yet, whether we like it or not, and whether or not we immediately recognize the fact, conditions and circumstances such as those referred to, will largely determine the pattern for our "town and country society" of the future.

Through the skillful development and application of technological advancements, we have created an agricultural productive capacity which greatly exceeds normal market needs of the foreseeable future — perhaps for a generation at least. This is disturbing only when viewed in light of the fact that we have failed to develop acceptable programs to provide for either the equitable sharing of rewards for agricultural progress or for appropriate and effective utilization of the resulting abundance of food and fiber.

This is not to decry the need for continued advancement in agricultural production. Neither is it to minimize importance of past achievements in this area. It is to point up the necessity for broad recognition and understanding of other major factors which constitute an important part of America's total agricultural structure, and an equally important part of the so-called farm problem which has and will continue to determine the pattern of "Our Town and Country Society."

THE RELEVANCY OF OUR VALUES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS TO OUR ACTION PROGRAMS

REV. E. W. MUELLER, Secretary, Church in Town and Country,
National Lutheran Council

THERE IS a time to speak, there is a time to listen, there is a time to deliberate; but these periods are always followed with a moment when men must act. When the moment and the opportunity for action have arrived, how are we going to act? What is going to determine our decisions? Will it be self-interest or are we going to do that which we think is right?

If the concern of action groups is to do that which is best for the group at the moment, if self-interest is going to guide completely the decision of action groups, then values and religious beliefs have no relevancy to action programs. If there is a desire to do that which is right, then there is a real need to understand more adequately our values and our religious beliefs which influence our judgment as to what is right. Then we need to increase our ability to articulate more precisely our values so that others can understand our actions.

Neither our values nor our beliefs, no matter how clearly they are spelled out, can relieve us of the responsibility of making personal decisions in the area of private and public life. Nor can we transfer our responsibility for decision-making to the organizations to which we belong. God does not hold the organizations responsible; He holds responsible the individuals who make up the organizations. Our concern is that values and religious beliefs are brought into the process by which groups make decisions — decisions that set action programs into motion.

We approach our assignment with the assumption that we as a nation acknowledge that man is responsible for what he does and that his acts are judged by God. We further work with the assumption that this means more than a moralistic evaluation with a **general** responsibility for the well-being of society. The **universal** human that unites us with all of mankind serves merely as a smoke screen behind which people can hide from acting responsibly for their real neighbor.

Jesus took another position. He emphasized that we must act responsibly in word and deed. The neighbor is always an individual for whom I am personally responsible and who conversely is responsible for me. The categories of good and evil presuppose a sense of obligation which is meaningful only if man lives in relationship to a God Who cannot be impressed by beauty, economic laws, mechanical necessity, or claims of social superiority.

The history of our nation as well as current events supply ample evidence that the founders of our republic and the present generation want our nation to present to the world the "image" that our country is a nation of God-fearing people, a country that acknowledges its dependence upon Divine Providence.

What is less clear from history and present current events is how the values and religious beliefs of the past and present generation are to become the possessions of future generations. It is conceded that the transmitting of a set of values and religious convictions to children is not only the right but the responsibility of parents, and in this they are supported by the church of their choice. When and how are the parents to do this?

Fathers and mothers of an earlier generation often took advantage of their living patterns and their work patterns to transmit to their children a definite set of values and their ideas of what constitutes quality behavior. But few are the fathers and mothers today to whom the opportunity is granted to do this in connection with their work. If transmitting of values and religious beliefs is left to the parents, we are further taking for granted that the majoritiy of them have a set of values rooted in their religious faiths which they have fashioned into a workable philosophy of life.

The question can be raised: What portion of the nation's parents are bequeathing to their children a workable philosophy of life that is rooted in their relationship to their Maker, that guides them in their daily decision-making? Yet, such a philosophy is basic if values and religious beliefs are to play a role in decision-making. **The existence of a philosophy of life based on man's dependence and responsibility to a Divine Providence has a direct bearing on a nation's future.**

A nation that cuts itself off from God is a nation whose behavior is unpredictable. A nation can cut itself off from God by planned action or by ignoring God in one or all areas of life. We are discovering how difficult it is to deal with nations that have repudiated God. Yet we proceed under the assumption that such values as honesty, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, integrity in one's work, respect for man and God are so priceless that they will perpetuate themselves. Values procured at a great price and effort will survive only if succeeding generations are willing to spend equal effort to use and transmit them.

The best way to transmit values is to have them play a significant role in our decision-making process. This poses a practical problem for our generation. The many socio-economic changes of our day confront us with one crisis after another.

When confronted by a crisis people tend to behave in different ways. Some want to turn back to the so-called "good old days"; others seek to go around the crisis; others just drift and act as though a crisis did not exist, hoping that it will go away. All three approaches represent irresponsibie action. The responsible person will identify himself with action programs which will go right through the crisis.

Responsible action programs will meet the crisis head on, but they will anticipate the crisis. Responsible people will use the time available to them to gather facts and knowledge which will help them to understand the crisis, to acquire new skills and resources to be able to handle the crisis, to restate their beliefs and values so that life will have meaning in spite of the crisis. They will be the master of the crisis and not become the victim of the crisis.

Much is being done to give people facts, knowledge, skills, and additional resources to cope with crises that they are facing, but not enough is being done to restate our beliefs and values so that their relevancy is apparent in the developing of action programs that can cope with the crises people face. Because of the failure to restate adequately our beliefs and values for our day, people make the naive assumption that beliefs and values have no relevancy to action programs and are unduly influenced by statistical facts which are easily gathered and presented.

The question is not: Do values and beliefs have relevancy to our action programs? The question is:

1. Do we permit beliefs and values to play a significant role in our decision-making?
2. Do we translate our beliefs and values into a God-centered, workable philosophy of life?
3. Do we spend enough effort to identify the role that values and beliefs play in shaping the future of a community?
4. Do philosophers and theologians of each generation adequately state basic beliefs and values so they continue to give meaning and purpose to life?

A failure to deal adequately with this four-fold question results in a host of problems:

1. Creaturely entities, such as mind, economics, individualism, or life itself, are given the rank of god.
2. The wholeness of life is destroyed.

The diefication of a creaturely entity results in a conflict between the various creaturely entities. When men exalt a creaturely entity to the place of god, they cause confusions and destruction. The creaturely entities designed to work in harmony with each other and to serve as resources to man in his struggle for advancement become his downfall. Individual interest and community interest are seen as being in conflict with each other. Creaturely entities that are exalted to the rank of god do not have the power of God. They are challenged by another creaturely entity and in a state of confusion we move from one ism to another ism, from one emphasis with its own set of slogans to another emphasis with its own set of slogans.

3. People fail to act responsibly.

They universalize the object of their responsibility by assuming responsibility for everybody but by assuming responsibility for no one in particular. Or people dissolve their individual responsibility by transferring it to corporate groups to which they belong.

It is not my purpose to give you a formula for solving these problems for I know of no such formula. But I do want to emphasize that the beliefs and values of a people determine the rightness or wrongness of their action programs.

I also want to list some guidelines that may help:

1. God always remains the Creator and man the creature. All people have equal worth but not equal capability.
2. Whether people work with their hands or with machines they are neighbors. Changes call for new work patterns and living patterns that more adequately express neighborliness.
3. People have been created for each other. They must help each other achieve their maximum potential.
4. If people are to act responsibly they must have the freedom to choose their course of action.
5. This is God's world and not man's world. Man is the manager of the natural resources and the developer of the human resources.
6. Creaturely entities must not be exalted to the rank of god. A creaturely entity is a part of the answer but not the ultimate answer. A creaturely entity is most helpful when it complements other creaturely entities.

OUR TOWN AND COUNTRY SOCIETY LOOKS AT ITSELF

"How can you live in Goshen?"
Said a friend from afar,
"This wretched country town
Where folks talk little things all year
And plant their cabbage by the moon."
"Said I — I do not live in Goshen;
I eat here, sleep here, work here;
I live in Greece
Where Plato taught
And Phidias carved
And Epictetus wrote;
I dwell in Rome
Where Michael Angelo wrought
In color and mass,
Where Cicero penned immortal lines
And Dante sang undying songs.
Think not my life is small
Because you see a puny place;
I have my books, I have my dreams;
A thousand souls have left for me
Enchantment that transcends
Both time and place.
And so I live in Paradise,
Not here."

No? so you don't live in Goshen.
You eat there, sleep there,
Draw from there your life,
And live in sunny Italy and Greece.
Perhaps, if you should live in Goshen—
Since you know Rome and Greece and Paradise —
The "small talk" might grow larger, and men come
To plant their dreams and not their cabbage in the moon.
The soil is good in Goshen:
Stars shine; skies are clear and fair.
If you should live in Goshen,
They and you might see
New worlds of life and peace
Now hid from them and thee.

Why, yes, I live in Goshen:
This little town
Of little streets and ways,
And little folk and great.
I eat, sleep and work here,
But most of all I live here —
And laugh and weep
And agonize and pray.
I dream in Greece and Rome
And try to bring my dreams to Goshen.
And sometimes do, but mostly fail.
But here I meet my friends —
My living breathing fellows —
And we walk and think
And bless and hurt each other every day.
Here I see great men sometimes small
And small men sometimes great,
And out of all Goshen's ugliness
Great beauty grows.
And so I live in Paradise
Right here.

— Author Unknown

RECOGNITION OF DR. BROOKS HAYS

For your life-long interest in and contribution to the advancement of human welfare and understanding, we honor you.

You have served your community in its religious and civic life; your church and your region in these same areas, in addition to providing leadership for the complex problems and opportunities of inter-racial harmony.

Your service in politics was given in the brotherly interest of all humanity and what, on occasion, proved to be personally disadvantageous because you held principle higher than expediency.

Because much of this was done in the interest of the people from the under-privileged sections of the country with your vision that it would improve the lot of all people, we accord you this citation.

Brooks Hays (Special Assistant to President John F. Kennedy) was born August 9, 1898 near Russellville, Arkansas. Politics and public affairs played major roles in his home life, so it is not surprising that his career early turned to these fields. His first active part in politics came shortly after he was graduated from law school in 1922 and helped manage his father's campaign for the same Congressional seat he himself was later to win. The campaign was unsuccessful, but it prepared young Hays for the vigorous cam-

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paigns he later waged for state and federal offices. That same year he was elected to his first political party position, secretary of the Arkansas State Democratic Convention, the youngest man ever to hold that position.

He was educated in Russellville public schools, received his bachelor of arts degree from the University of Arkansas in 1919 and his bachelor of laws degree from George Washington University at Washington, D.C. in 1922. He holds honorary degrees of doctor of laws and doctor of humanities.

When only 29, Mr. Hays sought the Democratic nomination for governor. In a field of seven candidates, including the incumbent and his closely knit organization, he finished second. Two years later he again ran for governor, and although he drew far more votes, again was the runner-up. His first success in a statewide primary came in 1932, when he was elected Democratic National Committeeman, carrying 73 of the state's 75 counties. He was re-elected to the post in 1936.

During his years of law practice and political activity in Arkansas, Mr. Hays became intensely interested in social work and became a recognized authority on farm tenancy in the South. In 1937 he was called to Washington to assist in a legislative program under which tenant families could become independent farm owners. He considers his assistance in drafting the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act to be one of the most gratifying incidents in his legislative career.

He has long fought for the extension of educational and economic opportunities for Negroes in the South and has taken active part in inter-racial organizations. After coming to Congress he continued his interest in that complex problem. In an address on the floor of the House on February 2, 1949 — praised by some Southern editors as a historic utterance — he outlined the Arkansas Plan to extend full civil rights to minority groups without sacrificing the historic principles and traditions of any geographical section of the nation.

His constructive work on civil rights legislation accounted for his appointment to the Platform Committee of the Democratic National Conventions in 1952 and 1956. It was this interest in building bridges of understanding between the races that led him to arrange the Newport Conference between Governor Orval Faubus and President Dwight Eisenhower at the time of the Little Rock school desegregation crisis. This was the principal issue in the eight-day campaign which resulted in his defeat in November 1958 for re-election to a ninth term of office as Representative of the Fifth Congressional District of Arkansas.

Mr. Hays is a well known churchman and in 1951 received the annual Layman's Award from the ministers in Washington for outstanding service. He has served as chairman of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention and in May 1957 was elected president of the Convention itself. He was re-elected in May 1958.

His articles and addresses deal with topics of special interest to church, civic, and college groups. He is much in demand as a speechmaker. His public appearances are enlivened by a Lincolnesque fund of stories and he is regarded as one of the best storytellers in the United States. Washington newspapers regard him as one of the most prominent successors to the late

Alben Barkley. He has received Alumni Achievement Awards from George Washington University and the University of Arkansas. He has maintained an active interest in education and at present is a member of the governing boards of George Peabody College for Teachers at Nashville, Tennessee, and George Washington University. He is a member of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America and was awarded the Silver Buffalo in 1957. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Conference of Christian Jews and a member of the laymen's committee of Religion in American Life. He is a 33° Mason, also a member of the American Bar Association, the American Legion, the Lions Club, and the Phi Beta Kappa and Sigma Chi fraternities.

Mr. Hays was elected to the 78th Congress in 1942 and was re-elected to succeeding Congresses through the 85th. For eight years he was a member of the Banking and Currency Committee and after 1950 served on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. During the 82nd Congress he was a member of the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-exempt Foundations and on the death of Representative Cox of Georgia, chairman, was named acting chairman. In the 83rd and 84th Congresses he was a member of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (Kestnbaum Commission). In 1955 he was a member of the United States Delegation to the United Nations. In 1958 he was appointed a member of the Select Committee on Space Exploration and Astronautics. Following his defeat for re-election, he was named a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority by President Eisenhower in 1959. He served in this post until 1961 when President Kennedy appointed him Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations and then Special Assistant to the President.

MINUTES OF ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The annual meeting of the American Country Life Association, Inc. was called to order by Vice President Robert Frerichs, National 4-H Club Center, Washington, D.C., July 11, 1962, 9:30 A.M.

IT WAS VOTED to accept as read the minutes of the previous meeting, July 11, 1961.

The Secretary reviewed activities of his office for the past year — correspondence relating to general items, membership, proceeding orders, program, and 1962 conference.

He reported that a generous number of invitations and programs had been mailed because this is our only way of promoting ACLA. Individual Board members are asked to send programs and invitations to persons who according to their opinion have an interest in the objectives of ACLA.

IT WAS VOTED to accept the Treasurer's report as presented. (See Exhibit A.)

The Treasurer reported that no grant had been received from the Sears Roebuck Foundation for 1962 and that the Board had voted to appoint a committee to study ways and means of getting additional financial support for ACLA.

The Treasurer stated that the favorable balance in the bank was due to the fact that the 1961 proceedings had not yet been printed.

Dr. A. F. Wileden, liaison representative, reported that ACLA is working with the Agency for International Development which is the successor to the International Cooperation Administration. AID is interested in working with ACLA and is prepared to pay the entire membership fee for a period of three years for foreign nationals in AID who have an interest in ACLA. It was reported that the Board of Directors had voted to extend a courtesy membership of two years to foreign nationals who became members of ACLA while in this country but who may find it difficult to finance further membership after returning home.

IT WAS VOTED that the constitution and bylaws of the Association be revised as recommended by the Board of Directors.

It was reported that the Board of Directors had voted to have a new flyer printed which will more adequately state the objectives of ACLA as it now functions.

The Secretary reported that the Board of Directors, upon the recommendation of Mr. Brooks Hays, is taking steps to work for congressional action that will call for appointment of a commission on country life by the President of the United States.

Mr. Frerichs, chairman of the Program Committee, reported that his committee had recommended that the 1963 annual conference program be on "The Disadvantaged".

Vice President Frerichs called for a report of the Nominating Committee. Mr. Harry Bryson, chairman, recommended the following persons for a three-year membership on the Board of Directors: Roy C. Buck, Lois M. Clark, Robert T. Frerichs, Paul C. Johnson, E. W. Mueller, Milo K. Swanton, W. J. Tudor, John Baker; and for a term of one year: Jack Jackson, to fill the unexpired term of E. W. Holter who resigned.

IT WAS VOTED that the report of the Nominating Committee be accepted as presented and that the Secretary be asked to cast a unanimous ballot.

The Secretary reported that the place of next year's meeting had not been set, but that it is hoped that the meeting can be held somewhere in the

South. The date of the annual conference will be approximately the same time next year, the second week in July. The Executive Committee is checking on this.

IT WAS VOTED to adjourn.

Respectfully submitted,
E. W. MUELLER, Secretary

TREASURER'S REPORT — DECEMBER 31, 1961

Balance on hand January 1, 1961			$ 325.20
Receipts:			
Memberships — 103 ind. @ $ 5	$515.00		
4 ind. @ $ 2	8.00		
12 org. @ $25	300.00		
2 loc. @ $ 5	10.00	$ 833.00	
Sears Roebuck Foundation		1,500.00	
Proceedings Sold		230.42	
Annual Meeting Income:			
37 Banquet Tickets @ $3	$111.00		
33 Registrations @ $2	66.00		
12 Registrations @ $1	12.00	189.00	2,752.42
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$3,077.62
Expenditures:			
500 Letter Envelopes — Clark			$ 6.59
1,500 Letter Envelopes — Mueller			12.98
750 Identification Cards			14.50
700 Proceedings Printed — 1960			641.12
Stamps			98.25
Invitations to Conference			31.40
Mailing Service			21.00
Supplies			11.64
Telephone Calls			6.66
Citations Printed			14.00
Multilithing			55.87
Secretarial Services 7/1/60 — 6/30/61			282.32
Annual Meeting Expenses:			
Bosworth Expenses		$ 143.25	
Jones Expenses		78.75	
Herrboldt Expenses		55.95	
E. W. Mueller Expenses		7.25	
Banquet		129.00	414.20
			$1,610.53
Overpayment of Brunk Printing Bill (credit)			10.00
TOTAL EXPENDITURES			$1,620.53
Balance 12/31/61			1,457.09
			$3,077.62

TREASURER'S REPORT — JUNE 30, 1962

Balance on hand January 1, 1962			$1,457.09
Receipts:			
Memberships — 86 ind. @ $5	$ 430.00		
14 org. @ $25	350.00	$ 780.00	

Proceedings Sold	68.43	
Refund	10.00	858.43
TOTAL RECEIPTS		**$2,315.52**
Expenditures:		
500 Letter Envelopes — Gates		$ 6.31
1,500 Letter Envelopes — Mueller		13.68
National Educaiton Association — 1960-61 Expenses		101.21
Stamps		99.00
Multilithing		40.63
Letterhead Plate		4.20
Delivery Charges		2.50
Program Plate and Typesetting		13.60
TOTAL EXPENDITURES		$ 281.13
Balance 7/1/62		2,034.39
		$2,315.52

Outstanding bills: $581.18 on June 30, 1962.

MINUTES OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

The Board of Directors of the American Country Life Association, Inc., met on November 30, 1961, American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Illinois. The meeting was called to order by Mr. Aubrey Gates, president.

Present were: Mr. P. F. Aylesworth, Mrs. Kendall Bryan, Mr. Harry L. Bryson, Miss Lois M. Clark, Rev. Hugh P. Cassidy, Rev. R. T. Frerichs, Mr. Aubrey Gates, Mr. William Huffman for Mr. Edgar Wolfe, Rev. Serge Hummon, Rev. E. W. Mueller, Mr. Maurice W. Soults, Mr. J. Kenneth Stern, Mr. Milo K. Swanton, Dr. A. F. Wileden.

Absent but excused were: Dr. Joseph Ackerman, Dr. E. W. Aiton, Dr. J. Carroll Bottum, Dr. Roy C. Buck, Dr. L. S. Ellis, Dr. Arthur Floyd, Mr. Glenn Fox, Mr. E. F. Holter, Miss Gertrude Humphreys, Dr. Paul C. Johnson, Dr. W. J. Tudor.

IT WAS VOTED to approve as mailed the minutes of the July, 1961, Board meeting.

IT WAS VOTED to adopt the Treasurer's report as presented.

IT WAS VOTED that the President should arrange with Mr. Ackerman and Mr. Johnson for a suitable method of auditing the treasurer's books.

The Secretary reported that the sale of proceedings had been better than usual in the last six months. He reported that one organization purchased 300 copies of the 1960 proceedings.

He stated that the 1961 membership figures were: 117 individual, 2 local, 13 organizations, one contributor.

It was reported that three foreign nationals had responded to Miss Clark's letter and had ordered materials made available to them by member groups of the ACLA.

IT WAS VOTED that we prepare a new flyer on the objectives, purpose, mission of the ACLA, and the different types of memberships that are available.

1. That the preparation of this flyer be assigned to a committee appointed by the President;
2. That the committee consider incorporating into the copy the following items:
   a. ACLA is not a policy-forming group.
   b. It seeks to be a national forum.
   c. It gives different groups and individuals an opportunity to share

insights, information, understanding, and their evaluation of the trends and programs.

d. While ACLA is not a policy-forming group, it is hoped that its seminar-type national conferences will assist individuals to identify basic trends, to articulate insights, to share needs, to shape policies, and to initiate action in their respective groups or organizations.

3. That the flyer describe the types of relationships that organizations or groups have to ACLA such as:

. . . regular membership
. . . supporting membership
. . . cooperative relationship
. . . consultative relationship

4. That we clearly state that groups or organizations are free to select the type of relationship that is compatible with the policy of their organization.

Suggestions on Promotion

1. The President or Secretary prepare an invitational letter for organizations, informing them that organizations may have different types of relationships to ACLA and invite them to relate themselves to the ACLA and its objectives by selecting the type of relationship that is compatible to the policy of their organization.

2. We make an effort to have leading magazines and newspapers run an article on the purpose and objectives of the ACLA.

3. The Board members should make an effort to contact various national and state organizations with which they have a working relationship, such as, state rural health organizations, and appraise them of the different types of relationship available to them.

4. Our best promotion is to plan good programs for the annual conference and arrange to have the printed program available early in the year so that it can be used to encourage attendance at the annual conference.

5. ACLA capitalize on the fact that the annual conference brings together professional people and laymen who have an interest in the values of town and country life. It should emphasize that ACLA continues to make a significant contribution in bringing about a better understanding between these two groups.

Social Scientists and personnel from organizations, agencies, marketing, and service cooperatives need to rub shoulders with discerning lay people from town and country communities and laymen need the benefit of the information and insights of professional people.

6. We must strive for a high level type of conference so that all groups who are concerned with the development of the town and country community can not afford to miss the annual conference.

7. It would be good if the conference papers or abstracts of the papers could be mailed to participants in advance of the conference so that more of the conference time can be used to capitalize on the insights of resource persons who are in attendance by involving them in discussion and conversation.

8. The participation of resource persons from many professions and persons from a variety of organizations is helpful in making a seminar-type of conference meaningful.

9. Get a list of the organizations interested in the town and country community with offices in Washington, D.C., and make an effort to have them participate in the conference.

IT WAS VOTED that ACLA provide a service of sharing with all the persons related to the ACLA program significant pamphlets and/or papers produced by members or cooperating organizations:

1. How to discover significant pieces:
   a. Write to organizations.
   b. Contact state extension service or land-grant colleges that are recognizing the centennial of the USDA or the land-grant university system for significant papers. This contact to be made by the President.
   c. Ask Board members to send significant papers that come to their attention to the office of the Secretary. (Secretary's office to remind Board members of this service several times during the year.)
2. Sifting materials:
   a. Board members carefully evaluate the materials they send and prepare a brief summary of the materials.
   b. President appoint a committee (preferably persons from Chicago) to screen the materials to be mailed. This committee reserve all rights on editing.
   c. Some pieces may be mailed in full, some summarized, some just listed with a short descriptive paragraph, stating that complete copies of all materials available upon request, some not included at all.
3. Policy:
   It should be clearly stated in the flyer that while ACLA provides the service of sharing materials it does not necessarily endorse the materials mailed. Its purpose is to remain objective and to provide information on both sides of controversial issues. (This principle, in small print, to be attached to materials mailed.)
4. Editing:
   The committee appointed to prepare the flyer should carefully study the suggested clearing service, rephrase it in keeping with the objectives and purposes of ACLA, and include it in the flyer.

Rev. Robert T. Frerichs, chairman of the Program Committee, presented the tentative program for the 1962 conference. The theme suggested was: The Town and Country Society Looks at Itself.

The program is to be structured in two parts: **I.** Things we need to know — the over-all picture and the specific pictures such as commercial farming, rural nonfarm, the small town, and suburbia. **II.** What does this mean in the area of marketing, education, extension, and farm organizations.

[illegible]d a concluding statement on the relevancy of our values and religious beliefs to our action programs.

IT WAS VOTED that the Board encourage Milo Swanton, chairman of the Committee on the Country Life Commission, to proceed to carry out the action of the annual meeting, relative to a Second Commission on Country Life.

IT WAS VOTED that the President write the AID office and send them a copy of the ICA report and assure them of our interest in AID; that Mr. Aylesworth and Mr. Stern be asked to follow up on this correspondence by direct contact with the office in Washington, D.C.; that this letter be written by Mr. Wileden, Liaison Representative with the ICA, and signed by the President.

It was reported that some ACLA members who have traveled in foreign countries have contacted foreign nationals with whom ACLA has had contact through ICA. The Board commended this type of follow up on ICA members and encourages it.

President Gates made the following committee appointments:

Nominations Committee: E. F. Holter, chairman, Phillip F. Aylesworth, Glenn Gox, Harry Bryson, Rev. C. F. Rehkopf.

Citations Committee: Roy C. Buck, chairman, E. W. Aiton, Merle Thomas.

Committee to Restudy the Constitution: E. W. Mueller, chairman, Joseph

Ackerman, Lois M. Clark, J. K. Stern, A. F. Wileden.

This committee is also to set up the copy for a new flyer on the objectives, purpose, mission of the ACLA.

Local Arrangements for Annual Conference: E. W. Aiton, Lois M. Clark, E. F. Holter, J. K. Stern.

It was suggested that Board members send nominees for the ACLA annual citation to Mr. Buck. It was further suggested that Board members present nominees for the 1963 citation to Mr. Buck at the July Board meeting.

It was suggested that the Program Committee present a tentative program for 1963 at the annual meeting in July. One theme suggested was: The Disadvantaged.

The Secretary shared with the Board members that Father George Nell had died during the past year. The Board took note of the fact that he had been a member of ACLA from the very beginning.

The group expressed thanks to Mr. Gates and the American Medical Association for the use of their facilities for the Board meeting. Mr. Gates invited committees to use the facilities of the AMA for any meetings.

IT WAS VOTED that the next meeting of the Board of Directors be held on July 9, 1962, 7:30 P.M., 4-H Club Center, Washington, D.C., and that it be continued on July 10 or as needed.

IT WAS VOTED to adjourn.

Respectfully submitted,
E. W. MUELLER, Secretary

The Board of Directors of the American Country Life Association, Inc., met on the evenings of July 9 and 10, 1962, National 4-H Club Center, Washington, D.C. Meetings on July 9-10 were called to order by Mr. Aubrey Gates, president, and on July 11 by Rev. R. T. Frerichs, vice president.

Present were: Dr. Joseph Ackerman, Dr. E. W. Aiton, Mr. Phillip F. Aylesworth, Mrs. Kendall Bryan, Mr. Harry L. Bryson, Dr. Roy C. Buck, Miss Lois M. Clark, Mr. Glenn S. Fox, Rev. R. T. Frerichs, Mr. Aubrey Gates, Miss Gertrude Humphreys, Dr. E. W. Mueller, Mr. J. Kenneth Stern, Dr. W. J. Tudor, Dr. A. F. Wileden, Mr. Edgar W. Wolfe. Father George Grotkin attended for Father Hugh P. Cassidy.

Absent were: Dr. J. Carroll Bottum, Dr. Arthur Floyd, Sr., Mr. E. F. Holter, Rev. Serge Hummon, Dr. Paul C. Johnson, Mr. Maurice W. Soults, Mr. Milo K. Swanton.

IT WAS VOTED to accept as mailed the minutes of the November 30, 1961, meeting.

The Treasurer reviewed the report prepared for the annual meeting. IT WAS VOTED to accept the report and to submit it as read to the annual meeting.

The Treasurer commented that the reason for the balance on hand was because the proceedings for the 1961 annual conference had not been printed.

Outstanding bills in the amount of $581.18 were listed by the Treasurer.

IT WAS VOTED to pay all outstanding bills.

It was reported that the treasurer's books had been audited on February 13, 1962.

The Secretary reviewed activities of his office — correspondence relating to general items, membership, mailing of proceeding orders, the annual conference. He mentioned that no formal invitation to attend the 1962 annual conference had been sent this year. Instead a copy of the final program with an informal letter of invitation was mailed, since the printed program was available in ample time.

President Gates informed the group that he met with the Program Committee in his office. He also reported that he had attended the annual meeting of the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy to discuss with them the objectives of ACLA. He said that he had emphasized that ACLA seeks to be a seminar-type organization and not an action group. His purpose in attending the meeting was to encourage wider participation in the ACLA by Extension personnel. He reported that Cooperative Extension as such can not take an organizational membership in ACLA but that the individual members in Extension are free to hold a membership. The President also convened in an informal way ACLA members in Chicago in the interest of discussing the objectives and program of the Association.

The Sears Roebuck Foundation which has for years supported the ACLA with a sizable grant was not able to make a contribution in 1962. While this support from Sears Roebuck Foundation is appreciated and a request for 1963 should be presented to the Foundation, it was felt that it would be wise if the ACLA had more than one major source of income. IT WAS VOTED that a committee be appointed by the President to explore the possibility of enlisting other foundations in making grants to the Association.

.Since the major expenditure of the ACLA is the publishing of the annual proceedings, IT WAS SUGGESTED that a credit line might be given in the proceeding to the foundation making the publishing of the proceedings possible through their grant. However, before such a credit line is included in the proceedings the matter should be cleared with the foundation.

IT WAS VOTED that this same committee study how to increase the number of supporting organizations.

Dr. A. F. Wileden reported on the program with the Agency for International Development (formerly International Cooperation Administration). He said that he had written to the director of AID, calling attention to the past arrangements ACLA had with ICA and indicating our support and approval of the AID program. However, to date no referrals have been received from AID. Mr. Wileden mentioned that President Gates had written to AID and that arrangements had been worked out whereby they will pay the total membership fee for a three-year period for foreign nationals. It was mentioned that many of the foreign nationals who had been given membership in ACLA during their stay in the USA are not able to pay a membership fee in ACLA upon their return to their home. The question was raised whether it would be possible for ACLA to give them a courtesy membership.

IT WAS VOTED to extend a two-year courtesy membership to foreign nationals, who were members in ACLA while they were in the USA, after they have returned to their country and after their original membership has expired. However, before such a courtesy membership is extended to them, inquiry should be made if they desire to continue membership in the ACLA.

Rev. R. T. Frerichs, chairman of the Program Committee, reported that his Committee was recommending to the new Program Committee that the 1963 program be on "The Disadvantaged".

Dr. Roy C. Buck, chairman of the Citation Committee, reported that the citation to be given at this year's meeting would be presented to Mr. Brooks Hays.

The Committee to Restudy the Constitution, E. W. Mueller, chairman, presented the revised constitution as it had been mailed to the Board of Directors. The Board made a number of suggested changes and asked the Committee to incorporate the changes and then report back to the Board on the next day.

At this point the Board of Directors recessed until Tuesday evening, July 10. The Board reconvened after the banquet, July 10.

The Chairman of the Committee to Restudy the Constitution presented the revised Constitution.

IT WAS VOTED to adopt the constitution as revised and presented. (See Exhibit A.)

IT WAS VOTED that the Board of Directors recommend to the ACLA membership at the annual meeting the adoption of the constitution as presented by the Committee.

The Committee to Restudy the Flyer, E. W. Mueller, chairman, presented the copy for the flyer as it had been mailed to the Board of Directors.

IT WAS VOTED to accept this copy, but to delete the section on membership and make such changes that it will correspond with the revised constitution. (See Exhibit B.)

The Secretary was asked to have the flyer printed and it was suggested that it be a quality piece.

The Board of Directors met with Mr. Brooks Hays after the banquet of the ACLA, July 10, to discuss with him his views and recommendations on a Commission on Country Life; namely, that the ACLA take the initiative in pressing for congressional action that would request the President of the United States to appoint a Commission on Country Life.

IT WAS VOTED that the ACLA move in the direction suggested by Mr. Brooks Hays.

IT WAS VOTED that Mr. Milo Swanton continue as chairman of the Committee on a Commission on Country Life, and that the entire Committee be retained: Dr. Roy C. Buck, Miss Lois M. Clark, Dr. Paul C. Johnson, Dr. E. W. Mueller, Rev. E. W. O'Rourke, Rev. R. T. Frerichs, ex officio.

Miss Lois Clark reported that the copy for the proceedings of the 1961 meeting was about ready and raised the question whether the proceedings of the 1961 and 1962 meetings should be combined into one volume. The Board recommended that we print two volumes.

The Nominating Committee, Mr. Harry Bryson, chairman, recommended the following for officers in 1962-1963: Rev. R. T. Frerichs, president; Dr. W. J. Tudor, vice president; Rev. E. W. Mueller, secretary-treasurer.

IT WAS VOTED to have the Secretary cast a unanimous vote for the recommended slate of officers for a term of one year.

Mr. Bryson reported that Mr. John Baker, who was elected by the ACLA at the annual meeting to the Board of Directors, was unable to serve. As a result there was a vacancy on the Board which needed to be filled by action of the Board.

IT WAS SUGGESTED that the vacancy be filled by a person representing the American Farm Bureau Federation. The Executive Committee was asked to get in touch with Mr. Charles Shuman, president of the AFBF, for his suggestion as to who this person should be.

President elect, R. T. Frerichs, appointed the following committees:

Executive Committee: Joseph Ackerman, H. P. Cassidy, P. C. Johnson, M. K. Swanton, and the officers.

Program Committee: W. J. Tudor, chairman, P. F. Aylesworth, Arthur Floyd, Sr., Gertrude Humphreys, Lois Clark, J. K. Stern, E. W. Mueller, R. T. Frerichs, Selz Mayo.

Citation Committee: R. C. Buck, chairman, P. F. Aylesworth, Lois M. Clark.

Foundation Committee: Aubrey Gates, chairman, Mrs. Kendall Bryan, Glenn S. Fox, Joseph Ackerman.

Commission on Country Life Committee: M. K. Swanton, chairman, R. C. Buck, Lois M. Clark, P. C. Johnson, E. W. Mueller, E. W. O'Rourke, R. T. Frerichs, ex officio.

AID Liaison: A. F. Wileden.

The Executive Committee was asked to set the time and place of the 1963 meeting. IT WAS SUGGESTED that the meeting be held at approximately

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the same time (second week in July) and that, if possible, in the southeastern part of the United States. Raleigh, North Carolina, was suggested.

IT WAS FURTHER SUGGESTED that we meet in Washington, D.C., every other year and that on the alternate year we meet on the campus of a land-grant university.

The next Board of Directors meeting was set for November 26, 1962, in Chicago.

Respectfully submitted,
E. W. MUELLER, Secretary

Exhibit A

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION, INC.

(As revised and approved at the Annual Meeting, July 1962.)

ARTICLE I — NAME AND STRUCTURE

The name of this corporation is the American Country Life Association, Incorporated.

The structure of this corporation is.

a. Articles of incorporation.
b. Constitution and bylaws.

ARTICLE II — PURPOSE

The Association seeks to bring together leadership from organizations, agencies and institutions for the purposes of:

(1) Promoting discussion of the problems and objectives in country life and facilitating the means of their solution and attainment;

(2) Disseminating information which promotes a better understanding of country life;

(3) Furthering the efforts and increasing the effectiveness of persons and groups engaged in this field; and

(4) Fostering interest in community development.

ARTICLE III FIELD

The field of work of this Association is that of the improvement of country life. It is concerned with:

(1) Understanding of socio-economic needs of people who live or work in the open country and in small communities and service centers;

(2) Furthering inter-relatedness among these social units;

(3) Fostering their inter-relationship with metropolitan areas;

(4) Appraising and strengthening the values in wholesome country living.

ARTICLE IV — MEMBERSHIP

The following shall be eligible to membership in the Association:

(1) As individual members: Any person interested in the work of the Association.

(2) As organizational or institutional members: Institutions, organizations, and agencies, such as libraries, churches, and school groups; voluntary organizations and service groups — national, regional, and state; and other organizations having purposes similar to those of the American Country Life Association.

(3) As contributors: Individuals, groups, foundations who wish to make substantial contributions to the Association.

ARTICLE V — AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any regularly called meeting of the Association, provided that any proposed amendment shall have been presented in writing to the Board of Directors for consideration prior to the meeting of the Association.

ARTICLE VI — BYLAWS

Dues

Membership dues shall be determined by the Board of Directors.

Meetings

Section 1. The annual meeting of the members of the Association shall be held each year at such time and place as may be fixed by the Board of Directors, unless at a previous meeting the members may, by resolution, have determined upon such time and place. In the event of failure of the Board of Directors or the members to designate the time and place of such meetings, it shall be held on the first Friday in January, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, at the principal office of the Association.

Section 2. Special meetings may be called at any time by the President or by a majority of the Board of Directors, and shall be called whenever a request for such a meeting is made in writing by twenty percent (20%) of the members of the Association.

Section 3. Notice of the time and place of all meetings shall be given to all members at least thirty (30) days in advance of the time fixed for such meetings. Publication of notices of annual and special meetings shall be regarded as proper notice of such meetings when a copy of the issue of such publications shall have been mailed to the members at least thirty (30) days in advance of the time of each meeting.

Section 4. Each individual, institutional and sustaining member of the Association shall be entitled to one vote at meetings of the members. Organizational members may delegate five of their members as voting representatives. Each delegated voting representative shall be entitled to one vote.

Seection 5. All questions shall be determined by a majority vote of those present and entitled to vote.

Board of Directors

Section 1. The Board of Directors shall consist of 25 members elected by the members of the Association at the annual meeting each year. Fifteen shall be representatives of member or contributing organizations, and organizations so represented shall be so rotated that over a period of years all such organizations shall have representation on the Board. No single organization shall have more than one representative unless there are fewer than 15 organizations eligible for representation. Under these Bylaws the terms of eight directors shall expire the first year; the terms of eight directors shall expire the second year; and the terms of nine directors shall expire the third year; thereafter the term of office of all directors shall be three years and shall expire each year on the date of the annual meeting. They shall serve until their successors are elected. Vacancies occurring in the Board may be filled by the Board until the next annual meeting of the Association, at which time such vacancies shall be filled in each case for the unexpired term.

Section 2. Directors need not be residents of the State of New York.

Section 3. The Board of Directors shall transact business which is not practical for the total membership to handle. It shall have direction and supervision of the affairs of the Association and shall have power to appoint standing committees and special committees and to determine their duties and their terms of service, which shall not exceed one year. All standing committees and special committees shall be responsible to the Board and shall report at regular meetings of the Board unless otherwise directed. The chairman and members of standing committees need not be members of the Board.

Section 4. The Board shall appoint an Executive Committee of seven of its members, including the President and the first Vice President, which shall, in the interim between meetings of the Board act within the limits of policies and budgets approved by the Board.

Section 5. The Board and the Executive Committee shall report all significant actions to the membership.

Section 6. The Board may employ an Executive Secretary, determine his duties, fix his term of service and compensation, and delegate to him such power as may be necessary for the adequate discharge of his duties. The Executive Secretary shall, under the Board and the Executive Committee, have general management of the work of the Association and shall employ and have full direction of all members of the staff of employees.

Section 7. The Board shall hold at least one regular meeting during the year. Special meetings of the Board may be called at any time by the President or by a majority of the Board, and shall be called upon the written request of any five of its members. Five member of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Officers

Section 1. The Officers of the Association shall be a President, one or more Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, and a Secretary, elected annually by the Board of Directors. The President, first Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer shall be elected from among members of the Board unless the Board may designate the Executive Secretary as Secretary of the Board.

Section 2. Each officer of the Association shall serve until his successor is elected and has assumed office.

Section 3. The President shall be chairman of the Board of Directors and shall preside at all meetings of the Board. He shall sign and execute all contracts in the name of the Association when authorized to do so by the Board of Directors, or may delegate in writing the Executive Secretary to sign and execute the same, and shall perform all the duties incident to his office.

Section 4. The Vice President(s) shall, in the order of their rank, perform the duties of the President in the absence or disability of that officer.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall have the care and custody of the funds and securities of the Association and deposit the same in the name of the American Country Life Association, Inc. in such bank or banks as the Board of Directors may elect. He shall sign all checks, drafts, notes, and orders for the payment of money in accordance with such rules and regulations for the same as may be made by the Board. He shall keep an account of all receipts and expenditures and other financial transactions of the Association; shall report such receipts, expenditures, and transactions to the Board at its meetings; and shall submit an annual statement which shall be audited by an accountant approved by the Board.

Nominations Committee

The President shall appoint, with the approval of the Board of Directors, a Nominations Committee of five, not more than two of whom shall be members of the Board, who shall serve from the date of their appointment until the date of the first meeting of the Board of Directors following the annual meeting next ensuing. The Committee shall give continuous attention and study to the problems of obtaining suitable persons for Board and Committee services. The Committee shall present nominations at the annual meeting for vacancies on the Board of Directors. The Committee shall also present to the Board nominations for the officers of the Association.

ARTICLE VII — AMENDMENT OF BYLAWS

The Bylaws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the Board of Directors present at any regularly called meeting of the Board of Directors, provided that any proposed amendment shall have been called to the attention of Board members by mail at least thirty (30) day prior to the date when the regular Board of Directors meeting will be held.

Exhibit B

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION, INC.

OBJECTIVES

The American Country Life Association, Inc., is a voluntary organization composed of individuals and representatives of organizations and agencies who are interested in the current issues of country life. Consistently, its broad objective has been to encourage and promote satisfying and wholesome country living. Its more specific objectives are:

(1) To identify and clarify issues in country life and their relationships to desired objectives in country living;

(2) To promote discussion of the problems in country life and to facilitate the means of their solution;

(3) To further the efforts and to increase the effectiveness of persons and groups engaged in this field;

(4) To disseminate information in order to promote a better understanding of country life;

(5) To foster interest in community development;

(6) To recognize the historic role that country people have played in the development of our democratic institutions; to emphasize the contributions they can make in dealing with current issues of freedom;

(7) To strengthen moral and spiritual understanding and the development of a sense of responsible action;

(8) To understand the socio-economic needs of people who live or work in the open country, small communities, and service centers; and

(9) To recognize the inter-relatedness that is inherent in our democratic society among smaller social units and metropolitan areas, and to work for the application of the principles of social and economic justice in these interrelationships.

HOW IT STARTED

The American Country Life Association, Inc., as we know it today, started with a provisional committee of which Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of Massachusetts Agricultural College, was chairman and Dwight Sanderson of New York State College of Agriculture was secretary.

Its first meeting, called a "conference of workers for the study and discussion of rural social problems looking toward a country life program," was held at Baltimore, Maryland, on January 6-7, 1919.

Both this meeting and the organization that evolved were the direct outgrowth of the work of the Commission on Country Life appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1908.

This seven-member Commission, of which Liberty Hyde Bailey, Dean of the New York State College of Agriculture, was chairman, directed its attention to: (1) outlining the "main special deficiencies in Country Life" as they existed at the time, and (2) proposing "general corrective forces that should be put into motion."

It was left for the American Country Life Association and scores of newly developing organizations and agencies to implement these proposals.

OUR TOWN AND COUNTRY SOCIETY LOOKS AT ITSELF

TODAY

The American Country Life Association is unique in its opportunity to accomplish these objectives in that it brings together individuals, people with leadership responsibilities, and representatives of many national and statewide organizations and agencies who are concerned with the educational, social, economic, and spiritual development of country people.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

In order to help accomplish these objectives, the ACLA holds an annual conference. This conference, held in a different section of the country each year and most frequently on the campus of some institution of higher learning, concentrates on some issue or theme most pertinent to the times.

Individuals and organization representatives from all over the United States and from abroad are in attendance. They represent agriculture, education, religion, health, welfare, and many other fields.

The central themes of these conferences, starting in 1919 and up to the present time, have been: Rural Health; Rural Organization; Town and Country Relations; Country Community Education; The Rural Home; Religion in Country Life; Needed Readjustments in Rural Life; Farm Youth; The Issues in Rural Progress; A Decade of Rural Progress; Rural Organization; Standards of Living; Rural Government; Adult Education and Rural Life; National Policies Affecting Rural Life; National Planning and Rural Life; Country Life Programs; Education for Democracy; The People and the Land; Disadvantaged People in Rural Life; What's Ahead for Rural America; Building Rural Communities; Farm and Rural Life After the War; American Rural Life and War and Post-War Planning; Rural Life in a Changing World; Rural Ideals—The Hope of America?; Rural Policies and Policy Making; The Place of the Rural Community in Farm Policy Making; The Years Ahead in Rural Living; Home and Community Responsibility in a World of Tension; The Farm Family — Its Contribution and Its Problems; Getting Action to Meet Community Needs; An Appraisal of Our Changing Rural Communities; New Aims in Rural Life; Rural Families with Low Income; The New Rural Society — Price and Rewards of Progress; Mobilizing Forces for Dynamic Action in Country Living; Making the Most of Human Resources Through Rural Community Development; Rural Life in '65.

PUBLICATIONS

Proceedings of the annual conference are published each year and given rather wide distribution. They include research findings, authoritative statements, and points of view concerning some of the most pertinent problems confronting rural America and the world.

Copies of some of the past proceedings are still available from the office of the secretary.

SHARING MATERIALS

The ACLA provides to the membership the service of sharing materials which have significance for country life.

In keeping with its policy of providing a public forum, the Association will make available materials dealing with different aspects of pertinent issues, but will leave the evaluation of the materials to the reader. This service can be secured by writing to the secretary.

MEMBERSHIP

The ACLA is governed by a twenty-five member Board of Directors, elected at the annual meeting from its membership. Each member elected to the Board serves for a term of three years. The officers of the Association are selected by the Board of Directors. Membership in the Association is of three kinds:

128

Individual	$ 5.00
Institutional or Organizational:	
(1) Local and County	$ 5.00
(2) State, Regional, and National Groups	$25.00
Sustaining	Unlimited

Membership dues are payable on the calendar year basis. Copies of the annual proceedings are sent to all members of the Association.

PAST PRESIDENTS

Kenyon L. Butterfield, President, Massachusetts Agricultural College.
Frank B. Lowden, Governor, State of Illinois.
A. R. Mann, Provost, Cornell University.
Henry C. Taylor, United States Department of Agriculture.
Nat T. Frame, Extension Director, West Virginia College of Agriculture.
Carl C. Taylor, United States Department of Agriculture.
M. L. Wilson, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.
Miss Grace Frysinger, United States Department of Agriculture.
Dwight Sanderson, Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University.
Chris. L. Christenson, Dean, College of Agriculture, University of Minnesota.
Mrs. Raymond Sayre, Iowa Farm Bureau Federation.
Ernest Burnham, Western Michigan State Teachers College.
David E. Lindstrom, Dept. of Agricultural Economics, University of Illinois.
Joseph Ackerman, Managing Director, Farm Foundation.
Roger B. Corbett, National Association of Food Chains.
Milo K. Swanton, Executive Secretary, Wis. Council of Agriculture Co-op.
Mrs. Haven Smith, Nebraska Farm Bureau Federation.
Paul C. Johnson, Editor, Prairie Farmer.
Harry Varney, Dean, College of Agriculture, West Virginia University.
A. F. Wileden, Department of Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin.
Roy C. Buck, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Pennsylvania State University.
Miss Lois M. Clark, Dept. of Rural Education, National Education Association.
Aubrey D. Gates, Director, Division of Field Services, American Medical Assn.

PAST SECRETARIES

Dwight Sanderson, Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University.
Charles J. Galpin, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin.
E. C. Lindeman, North Carolina.
Nat T. Frame, College of Agriculture, West Virginia University.
Henry Israel, National Council of YMCA.
C. E. Myers, Pennsylvania State College.
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Benson Y. Landis, Federal Council of Churches.
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Orion Ulrey, Michigan State College.
Richard S. Wilcox, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Miss Lois M. Clark, National Education Association.
Miss Betty Westrom, National Lutheran Council.
E. W. Mueller, National Lutheran Council.

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION — 1962 MEMBERSHIP

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Nelson, Miss Emmie — National 4-H Service Committee, Inc., Chicago, Ill.
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Stelling, Rev. W. J. — Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, Freistatt, Mo.
Stern, J. Kenneth — American Institute of Cooperation, Washington, D.C.
Stewart, M. C. — Farmer, Homer City, Pa.

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Vizzard, Rev. James L. — National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Washington, D.C.
Warren, Miss Gertrude L.—Former National 4-H Club Leader, Washington, D.C.
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Wilcox, Robert W. — University of Idaho, Boise, Ida.
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Wolters, Rev. Gilbert — St. Benedict's College, Atchison, Kan.
Yohe, Ralph S. — Wisconsin Agriculturist, Racine, Wis.

Organizational

American Farm Bureau Federation — Chicago, Ill.
American Lutheran Church — Rev. H. M. Adix, Portland, Ore.
National Council, Boy Scouts of America — New Brunswick, N.J.
Cooperative League of the USA — Chicago, Ill.
Council on Rural Health, American Medical Association — Chicago, Ill.
Farm Foundation — Chicago, Ill.
Grocery Manufacturers of America — F. M. Atchley, New York, N.Y.
National Catholic Rural Life Conference—Rev. E. W. O'Rourke, Des Moines, Ia.
Dept. of Rural Education, National Education Assn. — R. M. Isenberg, Washington, D.C.
National Home Demonstration Council—Mrs. E. L. Martin, Sr., Cheshire, Mass.
The Home Department, National Council of Protestant Episcopal Church — New York, N.Y.
Church in Town and Country, National Lutheran Council — Chicago, Ill.
United Church of Christ — Rev. Serge F. Hummon, Chicago, Ill.
Wisconsin Council of Agriculture Co-operative—Milo K. Swanton, Madison, Wis.